


## R A J A   H A J I .



**B**EING on a visit to Singapore in October last I found myself one day in the Raffles Library, and it occurred to me that it would be interesting to look over the Malay manuscripts on the shelves of the Logan Collection of philological books. Guided by a catalogue, I selected a thin, discoloured manuscript described as “Sha’ir Aceh,” wondering that there should have been a poem about Aceh in Logan’s time, though the Dutch expeditions to Aceh have made us familiar with the effusions of Malay poetasters thereon in later days. The first verse contained an allusion to Selangor, and it soon became apparent that the document had nothing to do with Aceh, but was a ballad relating the adventures and death of a certain Raja Haji in Malacca. The names of persons, including those of the Dutch commanders who led the attack in which the Malay hero of the ballad lost his life, were given, so it was evidently a work contemporaneous with the events which it described. I borrowed the manuscript from the Library and set to work to collect all available information about Raja Haji’s attack upon Malacca in the last century. Materials were plentiful; Begbie \* devotes five pages (pp. 65—69) to the subject and Netscher † has published (in Dutch) the text of the official diary kept in the fortress of Malacca from day to day during the stirring events of 1783—4, the source, apparently, from which Begbie got his information. And besides the English and Dutch accounts I found a long description of Raja Haji’s invasion of Malacca in a Malay historical work called “Tuhfat-el-nafis,” which treats of the Malay Rajas of Bugis extraction in the Straits of Malacca.

I subjoin the text (Romanised) of the Malay ballad preserved by Logan, and probably acquired by him during one of his visits to Malacca some forty years ago. It is evidently the work of a Malacca Malay, friendly to the Dutch and perhaps in their service, who looked upon the Selangor invaders as robbers and the Bugis

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\* “The Malayan Peninsula,” Madras, 1834.

† “Twee Belegeringen van Malakka.”

as pirates. I have not ventured to attempt to translate it. The character of Malay poetry makes it almost impossible to make *pantuns* readable in an English dress. The story is carried on in the third and fourth lines of each stanza only, the first two lines being either mere tags on which to hang the rhyme, or, at the best, some figurative statement, a kind of background against which to set the picture. To read ninety-five stanzas like the following would give little idea of the effect of the original:—

*Near the house of Inche Sabtu.*

*The siyakap fish from the sea of Banca.*

The corpse was cast into a cleft of the rocks,

Of him who had boasted he would take Malacca.

*The siyakap fish from the sea of Banca.*

*Si Tuah runs away with the tray.*

His intention was to take Malacca,

Little aware that his life would be lost.

*Si Tuah runs off with the tray.*

*Wood is turned by Si Naga Wangsa.*

Little thought he that his life would be lost.

The body was removed by the Governor of Malacca.

The literary merit of the poem is not great, but it is of considerable historical interest and will be valued in Malacca as the work of some local bard of the last century, who celebrated in the best language he could command the successful repulse of the raid attempted on his native city.

Begbie's account of the cause of the quarrel between the Yang-di-per-tuan Muda of Riouw and the Dutch, and of the fighting that ensued is an appropriate preface to the Malacca ballad\* :—

“At this period (A.D. 1782; Heg. 1194) Pieter Geraldas de Brigu was the Governor of Malacca, being assisted by five other individuals as Members of Council: these were (1) the President of the Court of Justice, (2) the Commanding Officer of the Troops, (3) the Master Attendant, (4) the Fiscal, and (5) the Winkellier, or Superintendent of the Company's trade. Few readers need to be reminded that a severe contest was being maintained at this epoch by the English against the united strength of the French and Dutch nations, Gerrid Pangal was also Resident of the island of Rhio, another Dutch settlement in the vicinity of Singapore, Rajah Hadgi was the Rajah Moodah, or Iyang de Pertuan Moodah, of the same place, and Sulthaun Mahomed Shah, Sulthaun of the

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\* The spelling of the original has been retained.

small island of Linggin. An English merchantman was attacked by a French man-of-war somewhere in the Indian Archipelago, but, managing to make her escape, put into Rhio for protection. It must be remembered that, although the Dutch possessed a Colony here, it was as yet but in its infancy, and their authority merely nominal. The Englishman consequently relied upon the neutrality of the Rajah Moodah."

"Pangal, anxious as he was to obtain the merchantman as a prize, was therefore unable to seize her without the permission of Rajah Hadgi, which he accordingly sought and obtained upon condition that he should receive a fair proportion of the booty. Pangal lost no time in communicating with the Governor of Malacca, who forthwith despatched a fast sailing French corvette that was lying in the roads, by whom she was seized, carried to Batavia, and sold, the French and Dutch dividing the proceeds between them."

"Rajah Hadgi in vain demanded his proportion of the prize, for the more powerful confederates laughed at his pretensions. Indignant at this shameless breach of agreement by the Dutch, who were *nationally* concerned in it, the disappointed Rajah Moodah declared war against them the following year. To meet this declaration Francis Lenckner, the President of the Court of Justice, was despatched to Rhio from Malacca at the close of the year in command of about seventeen small vessels and six hundred troops, a most incongruous appointment for a man of law. Lenckner's expedition terminated as might have been foreseen. He was not only totally defeated, and obliged to crowd all canvas in his retreat, taking with him the settlers of Rhio, but also to leave behind one of his vessels, which had been stranded on the bar, and could not be floated off."

"Flushed with this success, Rajah Hadgi determined the ensuing year to attack Malacca; he therefore equipped a fleet of one hundred and seventy vessels, carrying a large body of men, with which he sailed for the Moar River."

"The Dutch, as timorous in the hour of peril as they had been perfidious when the rule of the strongest was theirs, despatched one of their number, Abraham D'Wind, a gentleman whose influence with the natives was very considerable, to expostulate with the exasperated Rajah Moodah, and deprecate his vengeance. But if the Dutch really hoped that they could again cajole him, they were quickly undeceived by the rapid return of their

ambassador, who accounted himself but too happy in having been able to effect his escape with his life."

"Rajah Hadgi, having weighed anchor, now came off Katapang, a small village situated about five miles easterly of Malacca, and opposite the Water islands; here he disembarked and erected a stockade on the sea shore, in which he took up his head-quarters, having with him about 1,000 armed followers, and 300 women. Close to this village is a spot called Poongoor, where Mr. D'Wind had a house and grounds, but, the communication between it and Malacca being merely a narrow footpath leading through a dense jungle, Rajah Hadgi was convinced that regular troops would never think of passing through so dangerous a defile as long as there were more eligible points of attack. He therefore left the stockade open on this face,\* throwing up a simple *paggah*, or stout bamboo fence, in lieu of it: as an additional source of security he advanced a party to Mr. D'Wind's house."

"Meanwhile, the Rajah of Salangore, an independent State about forty miles to the westward of Malacca, who had married a daughter of Rajah Hadgi, sailed up the Linggy river, which disembogues itself about twenty-five miles from Malacca, and having captured some Malacca Klings (or natives of Coromandel) who were residing at Rumbow, returned down the river; he then sailed along the coast, reducing the whole country to the westward as far as Tanjong Kling, seven miles from Malacca."

"At the period of which I am treating, the now populous neighbourhood of Tranqueirah, which forms the western suburb of Malacca, consisted merely of a few houses spotted here and there in a thick jungle, which was peculiarly favourable for the operation of a Malayan enemy; the Dutch, thus beleaguered both eastward and westward, were unable to prevent the approach of the Rajah of Salangore to the second Tranqueirah bridge which is only about one mile from the fort of Malacca, whilst Rajah Hadgi advanced as far as Oojong Passir, the whole of the country to the northward, as far as Pangkallang Rammah, being in the hands of the confederates."

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\* "One side of a Malayan stockade is always left open for the convenience of retreat, as the defenders never wait for the bayonet. As this side is generally resting on the jungle, and all the paths, except those they retreat by, are planted with ranjows, their loss is generally trifling, being screened by their works from the enemy's fire in the first instance, and safe from pursuit in the second."

“ At this crisis of their affairs, the Dutch were unhappily at variance amongst themselves. Togar Aboe, the commander of a 36-gun frigate, then lying in the Malacca roads, roundly charged D'Wind with treachery, and the latter was accordingly arrested. The charge not being substantiated he was subsequently set at liberty by order of the Batavian Government, and shortly afterwards the frigate accidentally blew up, thus adding to the difficulties of the Dutch.”

“ They were at length considerably relieved by the appearance of a fleet consisting of three ships and two brigs from Batavia under the command of Admiral Van Braam, who dropped anchor between the Water islands and Katapang on the main land and maintained a constant fire on the stockade of Rajah Hadgi, who returned it as briskly. Van Braam, taking advantage of a dark night, laid down a succession of anchors, with hawsers attached to each, between his vessels and the shore. Having on board six hundred Javanese bayonets, he landed this party about four in the morning without noise by means of the hawsers, and directed it to remain concealed at Purnoo till daybreak. In order to divert the enemy's attention from that quarter, the fleet continued its cannonade until the signal was made for the attack of the land column which, falling suddenly upon the stockade, dispersed the enemy with the loss of 450 killed. Rajah Hadgi was numbered amongst the slain having been killed by nearly the last round shot fired from the fleet.”

“ Directly that the Admiral saw the Dutch colour flying over the stockade he landed, but, not having as yet learned the death of the Rajah, he concluded that he had marched for Malacca after having evacuated the stockade. He therefore put his troops in rapid motion for that place, but discovered the real state of affairs on arriving at Poongoor. Rajah Hadgi's body was found after some search, and brought into Malacca, where it was interred on St. Paul's Hill.”

The following is the Romanised text of the Malay ballad:—

SHA'IR RAJA HAJI.

Bentangor batang merbau  
 Perling di-dalam perangkap  
 Raja Salangor tiba ka Rembau  
 Orang Kling habis ter-tangkap.

Perling di-dalam perangkap  
 Raya di hulu be-rampas-an  
 Orang Kling lalu ter-tangkap  
 Dato' Penghulu me-lepas-kan.

Raya di hulu be-rampas-an  
 Ter-layang batang lembing  
 Dato' Penghulu me-lepas-kan  
 Di-suroh Pa'Sayang \* membawa Kling

Ter-layang batang lembing  
 Rumpun temu di-dalam raga  
 Di-suroh Pa'Sayang membawa Kling  
 Lalu ber-temu pada Wolanda.

Rumpun temu di-dalam raga  
 Benang di kayu laka  
 Sudah ber-temu pada Wolanda  
 Pa'Sayang ter-bilang di Malaka.

Bilang pinang di kayu laka  
 China menampi di-dalam prahu  
 Pa'Sayang ter-bilang di Malaka  
 Shina Tambi † di-jumput men-jamu.

China menampi di-dalam prahu  
 Di-dalam dulang ikan belanak  
 Shina Tambi jumput men-jamu  
 Pa'Sayang pulang mengambil anak.

Di dalam dulang ikan belanak  
 Bentangor kayu ber-batang  
 Pa'Sayang pulang mengambil anak  
 Orang Salangor pun sudah datang.

Bentangor kayu ber-batang  
 Bunga tanjung ber-tali-tali  
 Orang Salangor pun sudah datang  
 Raiyat Tanjong ‡ pun sudah lari.

Bunga tanjung ber-tali-tali  
 Bentangor batang ber-duri  
 Orang Tanjong pun sudah lari  
 Raiyat Salangor masuk men-churi.

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\* *Pa'Sayang*: apparently an influential Malay. *Baba Sayang* is still the favourite burden of Malacca songs.

† *Shina Tambi*: a Malacca Kling.

‡ *Tanjong*: Tanjong Kling, about seven miles from Malacca.

Bentangor batang ber-duri  
 Sungei Raya negri Asahan  
 Raiyat Salangor masok men-churi  
 Sakalian kampong di-binasa-kan.

Sungei Raya negri Asahan  
 Merbu ber-bunyi di kayu ara  
 Habis raiyat di-binasa-kan  
 Kerbau di-churi muntah-kan darah.

Merbu ber-bunyi di kayu ara  
 Tetak akar pisang rajahan  
 Kerbau di-churi muntah-kan darah  
 Hilang asal ka-raja-an.

Tetak akar pisang rajahan  
 Bakul lama ber-isi duri  
 Hilang asal ka-raja-an  
 Tinggal-kan nama Raja penchuri.

Bakul ber-isi duri  
 Deri Ligor ka Manja Sanun  
 Tinggal-kan nama Raja penchuri  
 Raiyat Salangor masok menyamun.

Deri Ligor ka Manja Sanun  
 Bandéra ber-sri-sri  
 Orang Salangor masok menyamun,  
 Orang Tangkéra \* masok negri.

Bandéra ber-sri-sri  
 Serindit ber-duyun-duyun  
 Orang Tangkéra masok negri,  
 Orang Peringgit † pun habis turun.

Serindit ber-duyun-duyun  
 Tempurong di-buat sendok  
 Orang Peringgit habis turun  
 Orang Duyong ‡ pun sudah bilok.

Tempurong di-buat sendok  
 Buah laka di-dalam kedut  
 Orang Duyong pun sudah bilok  
 Di-dalam Malaka baharu gelut.

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\* *Tangkéra*: Tranquéra, a suburb of Malacca.

† *Peringgit*: a Malay *kampong* near Malacca.

‡ *Duyong*: a river and sea-coast village south of Malacca, the inhabitants of which apparently joined the invaders.

Buah laka di-dalam kedut  
 Pergi ka teluk menarah papan  
 Di-dalam Malaka baharu gelut  
 Nasi ter-sendok tidak ter-makan.

Pergi ka teluk menarah papan  
 Gergaji belah-kan tampang  
 Nasi ter-sendok tidak ter-makan  
 Raja Haji tiba Teluk Katapang.

Gergaji belah-kan tampang  
 Ikat pita tuntu-tuntu  
 Raja Haji tiba Teluk Katapang  
 Pasang palita sagenap pintu.

Ikat pita tuntu-tuntu  
 Pijat-pijat banyak me-lata  
 Pasang palita sagenap pintu  
 Mahu di-lihat dengan nyata.

Pijat-pijat banyak me-lata  
 Telepek di tudong saji  
 Mahu di-lihat dengan nyata  
 Takut-kan raiyat si Raja Haji.

Telepek di tudong saji  
 Handak menyiram ka perigi  
 Takut-kan raiyat si Raja Haji  
 Masok menyelap di-dalam negri.

Handak menyiram ka perigi  
 Kilat datang dengan chuacha-nya  
 Masok menyelap di-dalam negri  
 Kalau tidak dengan nyata-nya.

Kilat datang dengan chuacha-nya  
 Di-dalam bilek permeisuri  
 Kalau tidak dengan nyata-nya  
 Membawa fa'il \* seperti penchuri.

Di-dalam bilek permeisuri  
 Hiyu di Pulau Indra Giri  
 Membawa fa'il seperti penchuri  
 Mati bulur † dia sendiri.

\* *Fa'il*: behaviour.

† *Bulur*: hunger.



Hiyu di Pulau Indra Giri  
 Punggor pinang rumah To'Alu  
 Mati bulur dia sendiri  
 Tiada keniang memakan sagu.

Punggor pinang rumah To'Alu  
 Tali layang ber-perut-perut  
 Tiada keniang memakan sagu  
 Minum-kan ayer sakit perut.

Tali layang ber-perut-perut  
 Kembang pudak \* bunga sena  
 Minum-kan ayer sakit perut  
 Serta pula tidor di tanah.

Kembang pudak bunga sena  
 Bunga chempaka di-dalam chembu  
 Sudah pula tidor di tanah  
 Tanah Malaka apa di-tunggu.

Bunga chempaka di-dalam chembu  
 Kranji di-dalam lukah  
 Tanah Malaka apa di-tunggu  
 Raja Haji yang punya suka.

Kranji di-dalam lukah  
 Ubur-ubur deri China  
 Raja Haji yang punya suka  
 Handak ber-kubu di Bukit China.

Ubur-ubur deri China  
 Tetak tenggiri di-bawah batang  
 Handak ber-kubu di Bukit China  
 Maka sendiri garangan datang.

Tetak tenggiri di-bawah batang  
 Salah nama orang mengaji  
 Patut sendiri garangan datang  
 Sudah ber-nama si Raja Haji.

Salah nama orang mengaji  
 Kumbu di-dalam jala  
 Sudah ber-nama si Raja Haji  
 Maka ber-temu pada Wolanda.

Kumbu di-dalam jala  
 Handak menangkap ikan sembilang  
 Sudah ber-temu pada Wolanda  
 Ka-asa dapat ka-dua hilang.

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\* *Pudak* : pandanus inermis.

Handak menangkap ikan sembilang  
 Sudah ber-galah lagi ber-tali  
 Ka-asa dapat ka-dua hilang  
 Ayoh Allah apa-kan jadi.

Sudah ber-galah lagi ber-tali  
 Ular naga panjang chula-nya  
 Ayoh Allah apa-kan jadi  
 Malam ber-jaga siyang ber-kubu. \*

Ular naga panjang chula-nya  
 Terendak ber-jari-jari  
 Malam ber-jaga siyang ber-kubu  
 Ini-lah kahandak si Raja Haji.

Terendak ber-jari-jari  
 Sikejang bunga sa-pagi  
 Ini-lah per-buat-an si Raja Haji  
 Seperti anjing dengan babi. †

Sikejang bunga sa-pagi  
 Tetak batang di-dalam padi  
 Fa'il bagei anjing dan babi  
 Tiada berani masok negri.

Tetak batang di-dalam padi  
 Priuk ber-isi arang  
 Tiada berani masok negri  
 Raja Bru † Raja Siamang.

Priuk ber-isi arang  
 Si Kilang deri Rumbia  
 Raja Bru Raja Siamang  
 Hilang asal dengan mulia.

Si Kilang deri Rumbia  
 Menggulei kapala todak  
 Hilang asal dengan mulia  
 Antah-kan dapat antah tidak.

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\* *Sic in original.* The second and fourth lines do not rhyme; *Siyang-berkubu malam ber-jaga* would be better.

† The Dutch sympathies of the author are here evinced, Raja Haji (who is still looked on as a hero and martyr in Riouw and Selangor) being described as behaving like a dog or a pig, words abhorrent to Muhammadan ears.

‡ There is a pun here on the name of the Dutch Governor, de Bruijn. Raja Haji is described as hesitating to attack the fort from fear of the big monkey (*bruk*) there.

Menggulei kapala todak  
 Buah laka di atas tu \*  
 Antah-kan dapat antah tidak  
 Raja Malaka handak di-tipu.

Buah laka di atas tu  
 Inche Usoh memasang lilin  
 Raja Malaka handak di-tipu  
 Musoh sudah ber-koliling.

Inche Usoh memasang lilin  
 Bandahara mandi di tepi kota  
 Musoh sudah ber-koliling  
 Apa-kan jadi garangan kita ?

Bandahara mandi di tepi kota  
 Banyak lontar di Indragiri  
 Apa-kan jadi garangan kita  
 Seperti onta menyerah-kan diri.

Banyak lontar di Indra giri  
 Dalima pagar-kan duri  
 Sa-bagei onta menyerah-kan diri  
 Pa'Sayang ber-jalan sendiri-diri.

Dalima pagar-kan duri  
 Inche Ayat pergi ka-pantei  
 Pa'Sayang pergi mengantar-kan diri  
 Raiyat pun sudah habis lari.

Inche Ayat pergi ka parit  
 Potong bachang ber-jari-jari  
 Raiyat pun sudah habis ber-balik  
 Pa'Sayang pun datang sambil ber-lari.

Potong bachang ber-jari-jari  
 Batang laka buat chuchur-an  
 Pa'Sayang datang sambil ber-lari  
 Ayer mata ber-chuchur-an.

Kayu laka buat chuchur-an  
 Mengkarawang kayu meranti  
 Ayer mata ber-chuchur-an  
 Tiada ka-tahu-an di-dalam hati.

Mengkarawang kayu meranti  
 Mayang di-dalam kumbu  
 Tiada ka-tahu-an di-dalam hati  
 Pa'Sayang ber-balik masuk kubu.

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\* Tu : sic in original. Pintu ?

Mayang di-dalam kumbu  
 Raga ter-sirat deri laka  
 Pa'Sayang ber-balik masok kubu  
 Raja Siak datang ka Malaka.

Raga ter-sirat deri laka  
 Bandéra di jati merah  
 Raja Siak datang ka Malaka  
 Di-bawa pergi ka Tangkéra.

Bandéra di jati merah  
 Bunga China di Bukit China  
 Di-bawa pergi ka Tangkéra  
 Tinggal di gedong Nyonya Makinya.\*

Bunga China di Bukit China  
 Kayu di-beli buat cherpu  
 Tinggal di gedong Nyonya Makinya  
 Malayu pandei membuat tipu.

Kayu di-beli buat cherpu  
 Kapas-an Pulau Langkawi  
 Malayu pandei membuat tipu  
 Kapal pun tiba deri Batawi.

Kapas-an Pulau Langkawi  
 Pulau Hantu laut Malaka  
 Kapal pun tiba deri Batawi  
 Handak mem-bantu tanah Malaka.

Pulau Hantu laut Malaka  
 Chuka di-dulang Dato' Mantri  
 Handak mem-bantu tanah Malaka  
 Suka-lah raiyat di-dalam negri.

Chuka di dulang Dato' Mantri  
 Orang menyuloh charana papan  
 Suka-lah raiyat di-dalam negri  
 Kapal di-suroh ka Teluk Katapang.

Orang menyuloh charana papan  
 Sungei Raya Tanjong Jati  
 Kapal di tiba ka Telok Katapang  
 Raiyat di-suroh jalan kaki.

Sungei Raya Tanjong Jati  
 Tanam chempedak rapat-rapat  
 Raiyat di-suroh jalan kaki  
 Satu pun tiada dapat muafakat.

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\* See entry in the *Malacca Journal* under date May 14th.

Tanam chempedak rapat-rapat  
 Inche Usoh meng-ganti tikar  
 Satu pun tidak dapat muafakat  
 Musoh pun sudah ber-hinti besar.

Inche Usoh meng-ganti tikar  
 Tetak buah di-atas galah  
 Musoh pun suda ber-hinti besar  
 Minta-kan do'a kapada Allah.

Tetak buah di-atas galah  
 Banyak lintah di Kalkati  
 Peng-gali gali-kan pinang  
 Minta tulong kapada Nabi.

Banyak lintah di Kalkati  
 Peng-gali gali-kan pinang  
 Minta tulong kapada Nabi  
 Tiga hari sunto' ber-parang.

Peng-gali di buat parang  
 Buah labu deri Jelebu  
 Tiga hari sunto' ber-parang  
 Kapitan Abu \* lalu mengerbu.

Buah labu deri Jelebu  
 Buah kranji deri hulu  
 Kapitan Pameram † naik mengerbu  
 Raja Haji kena peluru.

Buah kranji deri hulu  
 Teropong ter-guling-guling  
 Raja Haji kena peluru  
 Chompong tumpas lari memuting.

Teropong ter-guling-guling  
 Inche Abit lari ka pantei  
 Chompong tumpas lari memuting  
 Habis rayat mati ber-tindih bangkei.

Inche Abit lari ka pantei  
 Handak mengambil kain hijau  
 Rayat yang mati ber-tindih bangkei  
 Ada yang mati ada yang hidop.

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\* Foger Abo, a naval officer.—See *Malacca Journal* under dates February 22nd and March 6th.

† Admiral van Braam.

Handak mengganti kain hijau  
 Tudong saji ber-isi keladi  
 Ada yang mati ada yang hidop  
 Raja Haji di-bawa lari.

Tudong saji ber-isi keladi  
 Orang Tanjong akan meng-galas  
 Raja Haji di-bawa lari  
 Lalu di-suro' di Tanjong Palas.

Orang Tanjong akan meng-galas  
 Dekat rumah Inche Sabtu  
 Mayat di-bawa ka Tanjong Palas  
 Lalu ter-selit di chela batu.

Dekat rumah Inche Sabtu  
 Ikan siyakap deri Bangka  
 Mayat ter-champak di chelah batu  
 Chakap mengambil tanah Malaka.

Ikan siyakap deri Bangka  
 Si Tuah me-lari-kan dulang  
 Handak mengambil negri Malaka  
 Tiada sedar jiwa akan hilang.

Si Tuah me-lari-kan dulang  
 Papan di-larik Si Naga Wangsa  
 Tiada sedar jiwa pun hilang  
 Mayat di-ambil Raja Malaka.

Papan di-larik Si Naga Wangsa  
 Minum ayer di-dalam kota  
 Mayat di-ambil uleh Wolanda  
 Di-bawa masok ka-dalam kota.

Minum ayer di-dalam kota  
 Ampelam buat kelikir  
 Di-bawa masok ka-dalam kota  
 Di-tanam pintu mengadap ka-hilir.

Ampelam buat kelikir  
 Orang meratap di-tanah rata  
 Di-tanam pintu mengadap ka-hilir  
 Ratu Amas pun tiba di Malaka.

Orang meratap di tanah rata  
 Inche Pandak jual keladi  
 Ratu Amas tiba di-dalam Malaka  
 Handak ber-kahandak mayat Raja Haji.

Inche Pandak jual keladi  
 Banyak udang di-dalam kual  
 Handak di-churi mayat Raja Haji  
 Blanda ada men-jaga-i.

Banyak udang di-dalam kual  
 Si Dapat bangun menari  
 Wolanda duduk men-jaga-i  
 Patek tidak dapat men-churi.

Si Dapat pandei menari  
 Di gaung busut banyak kembili  
 Patek tidak dapat menchuri  
 Lalu meratap anak dan bini.

Di gaung busut banyak kembili  
 Puan di-letak atas rantaka  
 Lalu me-raung anak dan bini  
 Istri pun tiada dapat ter-kata.

Puan ter-letak di-atas rantaka  
 Orang ber-padi di tanah liat  
 Istri pun tiada dapat ter-kata  
 Mayat-nia pun tiada dapat di lihat.

Orang ber-padi di tanah liat  
 Di Mekah banyak buah pedada  
 Mayat tiada dapat di lihat  
 Seperti merekah rasa-nia dada.

Di Mekah banyak buah pedada  
 Bunga tanjung di-atas rakit  
 Bagei me-rekah rasa-nia dada  
 Ter-kenang-kan untong dengan nasib.

Bunga tanjung di-atas rakit  
 Sarabei di muka pintu  
 Sudah untong dengan nasib  
 Maka sampei sa-hingga-an situ.

Sarabei di muka pintu  
 Pergi ka-parit handak me-riau  
 Maka sampei sa-hingga-an situ  
 Ratu Amas lalu ber-balik ka Riau.

Pergi ka-parit handak me-riau  
 Situ-lah banyak buah kembili  
 Istri ber-balik ka tanah Riau  
 Serta duduk mem-diam-kan diri.

Fortunately for historians, the Dutch administration in Malacca observed the excellent practice of keeping an official record of passing events, probably for the information of the Government in Batavia, and this diary is still preserved in the archives of the Resident Councillor at Malacca. Some thirty years ago Mr. Netscher, the Dutch Resident of Riouw, obtained the permission of the Governor of the Straits Settlements (Colonel Cavenagh, now Sir Orfeur Cavenagh, K.C.S.I.) to examine and make extracts from them, and he published under the title of "Two Sieges of Malacca" a little pamphlet containing the text of the Dutch records relating to the attack on Malacca by Daing Kamoja in 1756 and the invasion of Raja Haji in 1784. In each case the invaders were Bugis from Riouw aided by their friends and relations from Selangor, where a Bugis colony had been successfully established. Portions of the history of the attack of 1756 have already been published in this Journal (No. 12, December, 1883, p. 261), and I now give the Dutch official account of the war of 1784, which has been kindly translated for me, from Netscher's "Twee Belegeringen," by my sister Mrs. Isemonger:—

#### THE SIEGE OF 1784.

##### *Extracts from the Malacca Journal of the year 1784.*

JAN. 7.—There returned from Linggi the ship *Meereenberg* and the private bark *Anthoetta Elisabeth*, which had left for that place on the 2nd instant. The Captain of the first-named boat, Jan Montanje, produced a copy of the journal which he had kept during the expedition, wherein amongst other things it was stated that while lying at the mouth of the river Linggi on the 5th instant he saw about fifty of the enemy's vessels come out of the river, and sail along the coast towards the north, or Strait of Kalang, but that on account of the calm, and the distance of the vessels, he was unable to pursue them; and taking into consideration the superior force of the enemy, and the fact that as they had left Linggi he could not find out the reason of their visit, he returned here.

JAN. 14.—Arrived in the afternoon at about 4 o'clock, six baloos, at Tandjong Kling, and in the evening the unpleasant news was received, through the people of the Chinaman San Somko, that the Selangoer vessels had landed their crews, in all about one hundred men, in the bay of Batang Tiga, that they had not only pursued and fired at him and his slaves, but they had taken one slave prisoner, and that he and the rest had saved themselves by flight.



The Governor, therefore, immediately had a company of thirty native soldiers detached to the Lazarusveld to reinforce the outer battery.

JAN. 15.—The detached company, sent yesterday evening to the outer battery of Tranquéra, with a few armed volunteers, and a company of fifty Malays raised this morning, marched from the Lazarusveld, and by midday had reached the stream near Batang Tiga. They encountered there the Selangoer men who had landed the previous day, and a fight ensued. Some additional men were sent to their assistance and ammunition, but before this reinforcement could reach them the first troops had been obliged to retire, on account of the superior strength of the enemy who numbered about 200 men, with the loss of one man who was shot dead and two wounded. They marched back, however, the enemy not daring to follow them, to the before-mentioned battery which they reached as it got dark.

During the night the enemy set on fire several abandoned Malay huts, and fired a few shots at our advanced posts, but without any effect.

JAN. 16.—It was reported that the enemy were actively occupied in preparing stockades at Batang Tiga, and in burning houses at Batang Tiga and at Tandjong Kling. Firing continued there during the whole day, and the following night.

JAN. 17.—At daybreak, by the orders of Lieut. Auguste Gravestein, a detachment was sent to Batang Tiga consisting of two hundred Native and twenty European soldiers, besides two bombardiers and eight musketeers with two field-pieces of 3 lb., and one small gun with their appurtenances. To this force was added from two to three hundred volunteers—Chinese, Malays and Gentoos (*Jentieven*)—armed with pikes, cutlasses, and some with blunderbusses, commanded by Abraham Couperus, merchant, and Fiscal \* of this Government. †

Marching from the Lazarusveld, they embarked there and rowed to the bay of Batang Tiga, two *steenbokken* ‡ commanded by

\* In 1576 a Regulation was issued that the Admiralty Court should consist of the "Fiskaal," the Recorder ("Greffier") and seven members. This Court gave judgment on all prizes, booties and crimes at sea, not committed by the crew, which remained subject to the jurisdiction of the Admiral.

† Abraham Couperus afterwards rose to be Governor of Malacca and held that office when Malacca was taken by the British in 1795.—See No. 7 *Journal, Straits Asiatic Society*, p. 58.

‡ Mortars with which stone projectiles were used.

the second mate, Jan Hendrik Meijer, the armed boat of the ship *Meerenberg*, and three *kakaps* mounted with *rantakas*. These arrived in the bay in front of the enemy's stockade at about 3 o'clock and began to bombard it.

The fight continued between the stockade and the boats for an hour, when the before-mentioned force also approached the enemy, and attacked by land, and the general combat was fierce by land and sea; and three of the guns which had been brought burst and caused a fire, which, however, was soon extinguished.

The enemy attempted once to make a sally on our right wing, but a few volleys from our muskets obliged them to retire into their intrenchments, from which they offered a desperate resistance, and thus saved themselves from being overmastered by our force. The latter from weariness, and in order not to be overtaken by darkness in the jungle, were obliged to cease fighting at 4 o'clock and to retreat. They returned at about 8 o'clock to the outer battery of the Lazarusveld: the armed boats above mentioned also returned. On our side eight men were wounded, of whom one died this evening.

JAN. 22.—The merchant vessel *Shaw Beyramgore*, by Thomas Maughan, arrived from China after a voyage of fifteen days. She brought the unpleasant news that the Company's fleet, after the loss of a ship blown up, had raised the blockade of Riouw, and immediately sailed away, and moreover were already somewhere about the Formosa Rock, where the aforesaid English ship had spoken them in passing.

JAN. 23.—At daybreak sails were noticed towards the south, which soon proved to be a portion of the Company's fleet which had blockaded Riouw. On account of contrary winds they were obliged at nightfall to anchor outside the harbour.

Meanwhile, the Company's ship *Meerenberg* sailed towards the south to bring into the harbour a *wangkang* which had been in sight since yesterday morning.

JAN. 24.—Arrived in the roads the Company's ships *Dolphijn*, *Hof ter Linden*, *De Jonge Hugo*, besides the goerab\* *De Snelheid*, the galwet† *Concordia*, and the pantjalangans *Rustenberg* and *Philippine*.

\* *Ghurab*, the Arab name for a galley, a class of native armed vessel called *grab* by the English in the last century. See *Yule's Glossary*, *sub voce* Grab.

† *Galwet*, *gallevat*: a kind of galley, or war-boat with oars, of small draught of water, which continued to be employed on the west coast of India down to the latter half of last century. From this is derived the English term "jolly-boat." See *Yule's Glossary*, *sub voce* Gallevat.

Two Commissioners from the Government landed from the Riouw fleet last night, and also an under-factor, Reijnier Bernhard Hoijnck van Papendrecht, who confirmed the sad news that the small vessel *Malacca's Welvaren*, on board of which, amongst others, was Mr. Arnoldus Franciscus Lemker, the Commander of the aforesaid expedition, had been blown up with a number of people, and that the fleet, because of this and an unsuccessful landing, was forced to break up the blockade and to sail away.

JAN. 26.—Arrived in the roads the second part of the squadron from Riouw, consisting of the Company's vessels *Diamant* and *Hoop* and the cutter *Patriot*.

JAN. 27.—There arrived successively in the roads of the Company's returning fleet from Riouw the cutter *Ondernemer* and the sloops of war *Johanna* and *Ciceroa*. The Commander of the last-named craft that the day before he had spoken the bark *Gertruida Susanna* near the Formosa Rock, since when he had not seen her, that they were out of drinking-water on board, but on account of their own scarcity he had not been able to assist them; consequently the above-mentioned cutter the *Ondernemer*, with the pantjalong *Philippine*, was sent at once to the south in search of the missing bark, the *Gertruida*, to render the necessary assistance.

FEB. 2.—Returned from the south the cutter *Ondernemer* and the pantjalong *Philippine* sent out on January 27 last, without having met the *Gertruida Susanna*, the missing bark of the Company's returning war fleet.

FEB. 4.—The cutters *Patriot* and *Ondernemer*, cruising between Tandjong Kling and the Lazarusveld, together with the *Handelaar* and the galwet *Concordia*, having approached the shore with the rising tide, began at 2 o'clock to fire at the enemy's vessels which were hauled up on the beach, and soon entered into a fight with the enemy's batteries or stockades all along the shore, which fight lasted until sundown when it was observed that they were leaving the shore, and were in pursuit of some of the enemy's vessels which had arrived on the north side of Tandjong Kling.

Though no more could be seen of them because of the darkness, report of cannon was heard now and then until ten o'clock in the evening.

FEB. 5.—A *balo* of the enemy's, captured last night on the north of Tandjong Kling, was brought up by the cutter *Patriot*. It was mounted with two guns of 3 lb., and loaded with two chests and some balls of opium, some pieces of blue and white linen, about two

koyans of rice in kajangs, some bags of cummin seed, etc., as stated in the manifest. The master of the first-mentioned cutter reported that the Company's vessels suffered little or nothing in yesterday's fight, and had lost none of their crews, and of the seven of the enemy's vessels, which they had chased yesterday evening, two which were stranded were disabled, and the *balo* which he had brought was taken after a fight, the crew having been forced to jump overboard; but that the four others had escaped through the darkness of the night.

FEB. 8.—In the afternoon, under command of Lieut. Stecher, Ensigns Maurer, Duvergé and Lintner, and ex-Ensign of the Burghers\* Kiliaan, and three Malay Captains, were sent on board for an expedition against the Selangoer Bugis by the vessels lying off Tandjong Kling—viz., the *Dolphijn*, the cutters *Patriot* and *Onderne-mer*, the hooker *Handelaar*, the pantjalangs *Philippine* and *Rustenberg*, besides the galwet *Concordia*, with thirty-one European and 184 Malay soldiers from the garrison here, fully armed, besides a large number of volunteers, Heer E. Hoijneck van Papendrecht also went on board the ship *Dolphijn*, he being appointed Receiver and License Master † of the expedition.

At nightfall several of the ships destined for this expedition left the river for the roads with several other vessels, mounted with one 6 lb. gun, four of 3 lb., and one of 1 lb.; some rantakas of native manufacture, and one howitzer of 4 inches. Besides skilful men for rowing and other ordinary work, there were also placed on board the ships, one extra gunner, one bombardier, three gunners, and twenty-seven musketeers.

Further, in the garden of the late Soeratter Malek Faizullah, outside Tranquéra, were posted 200 Nanningers and Achinese from up-country, to be transported next day to Tandjong Kling if the landing there was decided on.

FEB. 9.—In the morning at 4 o'clock the *Dolphijn* and the rest of the vessels destined for the expedition against the Selangoer

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\* Semi-military rank.

† In 1593 *licenten* signified the money paid for permits to sell goods, purchased in the Prince's territory, in the territory of the enemy. It became a sort of tax, levied as a kind of export duty.

The *licentmeesters* were charged with collecting these monies. The East India Company paid considerable amounts annually for *licenten* (licences); later in 1677 an agreement was entered into between the Company and the Admiralties, by virtue whereof the Company paid a fixed sum annually.

Bugis left the roads near Tandjong Kling, but remained the whole day lying at anchor before the place without doing anything.

Meantime, at daybreak, with the opening of the gates the news was received that 100 Nanningers, posted in the deceased Malek Faizullah's garden, had run away in the night, but that 100 Achinese who had been with them had already gone on the ships appointed to transport them, and had pushed off intending to go to Tandjong Kling. But they were sent back to land in the afternoon by the Council of War of the above-mentioned expedition.

FEB. 10.—All the vessels and people returned from Tandjong Kling without having done anything.

FEB. 13.—A large number of native vessels, large and small, were observed to the south which all put in to Telok Katapan, and afterwards news was received that they belonged to Radja Hadji and that his people landed at the above-named place.

FEB. 14.—More Riouw vessels with men and ammunition arrived at Telok Katapan.

FEB. 15.—The disastrous news was received that the enemy who landed yesterday and the day before at Telok Katapan, had not only already advanced as far as Poengoer and Toejong and taken possession of them and the country lying round, but that also the inhabitants, except a few who had fled to the hills, had put themselves under the protection of Radja Hadji.

FEB. 16.—News was brought by several Semabok people escaping to the town, that the Riouw Bugis had already arrived there, and had taken possession of the hill.

FEB. 21.—Some volunteers marching to Semabok came into action with the enemy, on our side we lost no one, but on the enemy's, as far as we could see, three men were killed, and the head of one was cut off and brought to town to be exposed.

FEB. 22.—In the morning at 4 o'clock a detachment marched, under command of Lieutenant Duvergé, to Semabok consisting of twenty-seven Europeans, and sixty-two Malay soldiers, besides one extra vuurwerker, one bombardier, two gunners and twelve musketeers, from the garrison, taking with them also two cannon of 3 lb. and a kattedop\* of 4 inches, with all their appurtenances. This force was also joined by the Naval Captains Foger Abo and Jacob Frederiks, with some Malay soldiers and their officers, together with some armed European sailors from their ships, and

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\* An obsolete piece of artillery.

the head administrator of the place, Abraham Couperus, who took with him between two and three hundred Chinese volunteers armed with pikes and other hand weapons.

This corps having approached the enemy's stockade on this side of Semabok began at half-past six or break of day to fire on it with the cannons, and the fight became general and lasted till about half-past nine, when although a breach had been made in the enemy's stockade and several shells had been thrown in, our men were obliged to retire on account of the excessive heat and their fatigue, and arrived together about 11 o'clock in the castle inside the town. The loss of the enemy could not be estimated, but that on our side consisted of one man killed—namely, the third mate of the ship *Dolphijn*, William Marse, and thirty-one wounded, among whom were the bombardier and four European sailors; the 2nd Lieutenant Duvergé had three, and Captain Frederiks of the Navy one bullet through the hat.

FEB. 26.—A force of one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, four sergeants, six corporals, and fifty Malay soldiers, including some volunteers, marched from the town lines to the garden of the late Soeratta Malek Faizullah, situated outside Tranquéra, where they came into action with the enemy, in the course of which three of the soldiers were wounded, of whom one died of his wounds in the hospital, but it is supposed that the loss of the enemy must have been much greater because they retired hastily behind their intrenchments, and it was seen that several men were carried inside.

FEB. 27.—There were sent from the town lines to the outskirts of Tranquéra, together with a few volunteers, Adrian Koek, the Captain-lieutenant of a regular company of volunteers, a Malay captain, two ensigns, four sergeants, six corporals and fifty privates, besides one gunner and four musketeers with a field-piece. This corps having advanced to the Lazarusveld attacked the enemy's stockade erected there, and as it was at the same time shelled from the sea by the *Concordia* the enemy were soon forced to abandon it, taking with them, however, their ammunition, baggage, dead and wounded.

In the meantime it was getting dark and our force was therefore obliged to return, on which the enemy soon took possession again of the deserted and much shattered stockade. The loss on our side was one Malay soldier wounded.

FEB. 29.—At daybreak the ships which had gone to Telok

Katapan—viz., the *Dolphijs*, *Diamant*, *Hoop*, the cutters *Patriot* and *Ondernemer*, and the galwet *Concordia*, attacked the Riouw vessels which were lying there disabled, most of them.

MARCH 3.—On receipt of the news that a body of Selangoerese and Manikabers had advanced as far as the garden of the late Malek Faizullah and were occupied in demolishing the dwelling-house on it, and throwing up breastworks, a detachment of troops and several volunteers were sent from the town lines to the spot, besides a bombardier, a gunner, and six native musketeers with a six-pounder, etc. This force having reached the garden met at first with some resistance, but the enemy, after losing some men, dead and wounded, who were seen carried away, speedily saved themselves by flight to the jungle behind the garden; the evening beginning to fall, our troops marched back and reached the lines about 6 o'clock, not having lost a single man, as only one native soldier and a volunteer were slightly wounded.

MARCH 4.—At daybreak a force marched out to the Lazarusveld, consisting of a corps of one hundred Malay soldiers under command of their officers, with one extra vuurwerker, one bombardier, two gunners, and twelve native musketeers, with two six-pounders, besides about eighty volunteers under command of their Captain-lieutenant Adrian Koek. They attacked the enemy's fortifications there, and twice drove them out, but as the enemy continually got reinforcements out of the surrounding wood, and the evening was coming on, they were obliged to retire with a loss on this occasion of five wounded, of whom two died.

MARCH 6.—The cutter *Patriot*, on board of which was Heer Foger Abo, Naval Captain, was sent to the north to attack, and if possible destroy, the Selangoer vessels which were reported to be lying between Tandjong Kling and Cape Ratjado.

MARCH 7.—The cutter *Patriot* which left yesterday returned from the north. The particulars of the expedition and its result are given in an extract of Captain Abo's report to the Honourable the Government of India.

MARCH 13.—News was received that the enemy were busy constructing a new stockade on the side of the Vrieschenberg, so Lieutenant Siegelitz, who was posted at Bandailhera, and the ex-Ensign of the Burghers, Michael Kiliaan, were sent out with one hundred and fifty native and ten European soldiers, besides the ordinary vuurwerker Diehl and one extra, one gunner and six native musketeers, with one six-pounder and a corps of volunteers. They marched

there and drove the enemy back into their intrenchments up to the side of the road towards Semabok, which intrenchments they afterwards attacked, but the enemy made so brave a resistance and our troops were so exhausted from the great heat, that the latter, seeing no chance of taking the place, were obliged to retire. Our loss was two men killed and thirteen wounded, but that of the enemy it was impossible to estimate, for they kept always in the wood, and behind their fortifications, but it was observed that at several points breaches were made.

MARCH 14.—The outer batteries in the Boenga Raja \* were attacked several times last night by the enemy, and the Lieutenant posted there, Nicholas Christian Vetter, hearing from native scouts that they had thrown up some intrenchments on the road to Pangkalanrama, he marched out with a corps of one hundred men, attacked the enemy in their fortifications, put them to flight, and destroyed their works, without suffering any loss whatever on this occasion, while that of the enemy, as far as could be seen from those who were carried off to the jungle, must have been, more or less, eighteen men; one of these who was taken by us, was immediately decapitated and his head was brought to town and stuck on a pole outside the town lines.

MARCH 19.—Nothing noteworthy happened, except that, like most nights, first one, then another of the outposts was attacked by the enemy, but they are always repulsed without doing any harm.

MARCH 20.—In the afternoon a vessel was seen towards the south, which seemed to be making for this port, and as it was supposed that it was the sloop of Heer John Henry Wiegeman, of Batavia, which had left for Palembang, the pantjalang *Philippine* was sent to the ship to bring her up to the roads; but to our great astonishment it was noticed that the little ship, which afterwards was seen to be a packet-boat, made many manœuvres to escape from the pantjalang which continued to give chase, but the darkness soon prevented our seeing the ships from the land.

MARCH 21.—At daybreak the pantjalang *Philippine* and the packet-boat which came in sight yesterday were seen at anchor in the roads. The commander of the first-mentioned craft reported, on landing, that it was the packet-boat of the Englishman James Scott, coming from Riouw and bound for Selangoer; that though he had ordered him to strike sail, he continued to sail away, and as he

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\* The eastern suburb of Malacca town.



saw him making all sorts of manœuvres to escape, and the owner was a suspected smuggler, he forced him to come to the roads, and had taken Scott himself on board of the *Hof ter Linden*.\*

MARCH 22.—The armed ship *Hoop* and the cutter *Patriot* sailed in the morning to Telok Katapan to fight the enemy.

MARCH 23.—The ships *Hoop* and *Patriot*, which were sent yesterday to Telok Katapan, came back to-day; the result of the expedition and what they did may be seen from the extract of the journal kept by Naval Lieutenant Hartog.

MARCH 28.—Up to this date nothing noteworthy happened except that almost every night we were disturbed by the enemy, and that a few volunteers outside now and then had a skirmish with some of them.

MARCH 29.—At daybreak there marched out of the fort under command of Lieutenant Anthonij Stecher, Ensigns Duvergé and Lintner and ex-Ensign of the Burghers Kiliaan, a detachment of fifty-seven European and two hundred and twenty Malay soldiers, besides the ordinary and extra vuurwerkers Diehl and Groenewout, one bombardier, a konstabel, three kanonniers and thirty native and Chinese musketeers with two 6 lb., and two 3 lb. guns, a howitzer and a small gun with their appurtenances. Having arrived in the Bandailhera they were divided into three columns or divisions, of which one under Lieutenant Stecher was posted at Boekit Tamporong, the second under sub-Lieutenant Lintner marched towards Semabok, and the third under command of Ensigns Duvergé and Kiliaan to the zandhoek; both the first engaged in fight with the enemy, while the third coming from the zandhoek right through the jungle fell on the enemy's battery on the rear, when the fight became general and desperate, so that the enemy were forced by Duvergé's corps twice to retire from one of their batteries, but a swamp, which lay between, prevented them from advancing to take the battery which was much shattered. The enemy profited by this to make some hasty repairs, took possession again, and defended it as obstinately as before, and this lasted until midday, when, on account of the fierce heat and fatigue, the troops were obliged to retire. The defences of the enemy were greatly damaged, some shells and grenades having exploded inside them, but their loss of men cannot be exactly estimated, but it must have been very great,

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\* See mention of Scott in Capt. Lennon's diary (1795), *Journ. Str. Br. R. A. S.*, No. 7, p. 53.

for at first when the fight became general it was observed from Mount St. John that fifteen or sixteen men, who must have been dead or badly wounded, were carried away from their earthworks further towards Semabok; the loss on our side consisted of one killed, Corporal Evans Baving, and eleven wounded, of whom one was a European soldier.

MARCH 31.—An alarm was sounded in the town lines on its being signalled from Boekit Tjina that the enemy were on the march to Boenga Raja, but soon afterwards it was reported that having been welcomed by some cannon shots they had turned back again.

APRIL 1.—The enemy resumed their design of yesterday, and marched from all sides to Boenga Raja, probably to see whether they could break through these; but after some shots had been fired at them from the heavy gun they retired in the same way.

APRIL 8.—Up to the 8th nothing noteworthy occurred, except a few small encounters between our men and the enemy's partisans.

APRIL 11.—In the evening at about 10 o'clock the enemy attacked at the same time the outer batteries of Boenga Raja and Bandailhera and the one under Boekit Tjina, but after firing had gone on for an hour with some intervals they were obliged to draw back without having caused us any damage or loss.

APRIL 13.—Towards the evening the Selangoerese and their hangers-on attacked the Achinese of the Company's service who were encamped on the road to Gerestein, but after a fight of a good half hour they were obliged to retreat to the jungle; likewise a troop of them who let themselves be seen on the field behind the Tranquéra gardens, after a few rounds of grape-shot from the town, were forced to follow their comrades' example.

APRIL 15.—At break of day there marched out to the enemy's batteries on the side of the road to Semabok, under general command of Heer Johan Andrea Hensel, Captain of Militia, Lieut. and Ensigns Anthonij Stecher, Johan Godfried Maurer and Johan Godfried Lintner, with a corps of thirty European and two hundred and twenty-seven Malay soldiers, a company of negro volunteers under their Captain-lieutenant Adrian Koek, the ordinary and extra vuurwerkers Dichl and Groenewout, one bombardier, three kanoniers, forty-four native and Chinese musketeers, and the necessary coolies, taking with them a 24-pounder cannon, two six-pounders and two three-pounders together with a 4-inch howitzer and all

appurtenances. Having got close to the enemy's batteries they began to fire, but the ground being soft and muddy the 24-pounder, after a few shots had been fired, sank so deep that it had to be unmounted and afterwards taken back. A 12 lb. gun was sent instead, but for the same reason—the softness of the ground—little use could be made of it and it was again with the 6 and 3-pounders that they continued to fire on the enemy's batteries. The enemy made a bold resistance, and the fight became general and severe, and several bombs were thrown into their fortifications, but though it was seen that some burst inside, it was impossible to drive the enemy out.

It was as impracticable to pierce the defences with our guns, from the thickness and strength of the walls, as to make use of the hindering quagmire to storm it, without recklessly sacrificing the greater number of the men, and as all were very exhausted by the cruel heat, it was considered advisable at 2 o'clock to march back. As the enemy did not come out of the defences their losses in this action could not be ascertained, but on our side two men were killed on the spot, and thirteen wounded, three mortally.

In the meantime the cutters *Patriot* and *Ondernemer* with the pantjalong *Rustenbergh* sailed to Telok Katapan to harass the enemy from that side.

APRIL 16-19.—Every night we were disturbed by the enemy, once outside Tranquéra and the road to Gerestein, once in Boenga Raja and the battery at the foot of Boekit Tjina, and in the Bandailhera, but they were always driven back without the loss of a single man. Also there were daily skirmishes between our men and the enemy.

APRIL 21.—This morning a company of our men under command of a captain, an ensign, and three subordinate officers, with fifty Malay soldiers, marched from Boenga Raja to Pringgi where they came into conflict with a company of the enemy, put them to flight, and got possession of one of their killed, whose head they cut off and stuck on a pole at Pangkalanrama.

APRIL 22.—The bark *Gertruida Susanna* and the hooker *Handelaar* sailed to Tandjong Kling to look for some Selangoer vessels which were reported to be at anchor on the north side of the point.

APRIL 24.—A patrol of forty Malays left the batteries in the Bandailhera, and went towards Oedjong Pasir, where they fought with a band of the enemy. On our side one man was killed and one wounded.

APRIL 25.—Under command of Lieut. Henry van Nijvenheim a detachment consisting of 3 officers, 4 sergeants, 6 corporals, 1 drummer, 170 Malay soldiers, 1 ex-Malay soldier, 3 kanonniers, and 18 native and Chinese musketeers, with two 3-pounder guns complete, was sent to Oedjong Pasir in order to attack and if possible take possession of the strong fortifications which the enemy had made there, but they met with so bold and determined a resistance that in the afternoon a Council of War ordered retreat to be sounded. On our side five men were killed and six wounded, and though the loss of the enemy could not be ascertained it was believed from the circumstances to have been considerable.

APRIL 26, 27, 28.—Every night the enemy attacked our outer batteries in the Bandailhera, but each time were forced by our firing to retreat.

MAY 2.—In the evening at past 9 o'clock the enemy attacked simultaneously our batteries in the Boenga Raja and the Bandailhera, besides the one under Boekit Tjina. On account of this an alarm was sounded in the town and every one was under arms. The cannonade and musketry lasted at intervals until half-past eleven when the enemy retired and everything became quiet, except that now and then the whole night through there were occasional shots. These were fired at small parties of the enemy, who were seen now on one side, then on another, creeping along the ground and coming close under our fortification, evidently with the intention of setting it on fire and creating a confusion, when a fresh attack might be made from outside.

MAY 5.—A sampan arrived from Siak, manned by five persons, and having on board Abdul Baheer, Envoy of the old King of Siak, Radja Mohamad Ali. He brought a letter from this Prince to the Hon'ble Heer Pieter Gerardus de Bruijn, Governor and Director of this town and fortress. Also arrived *viâ* Siak from Trengano the Malay, Abdul Moehit, who had been sent there on commission in 1783, bringing a letter from the King of Trengano to the Governor.

MAY 6.—The Ambassador from Radja Mohamad Ali, who arrived yesterday, was sent back with a letter from the Governor to the Prince.

The cutter *Ondernemer* and the bark *Gertruida Susanna* sailed to Telok Katapan, and with the *Patriot*, which was there already, bombarded the enemy's vessels lying in the bay.

MAY 7.—The ships continued a cannonade at intervals at Telok Katapan until sundown.

MAY 8.—Under command of Lieuts. Duvergé and Kiliaan there were sent to Oedjong Pasir a sergeant, a corporal, a drummer and twelve European soldiers, together with two officers, ten subordinate officers, and seventy-eight native soldiers, a gunner, kanonnier and twelve musketeers, and the necessary coolies with one six-pounder gun and one three-pounder. Their object was to alarm the enemy and keep them occupied, so as to prevent them from attacking our men who were cutting the jungle round and making a new stockade nearer to the enemy than those already existing.

This was done with so much success that the labourers finished their work without being disturbed, and the following night a party was stationed in the new stockade. Besides this the enemy's works were much damaged and several breaches made in them, but on our side only two musketeers were wounded. In the night between eleven and twelve o'clock the enemy attacked the newly erected and still unfinished stockade at Oedjong Pasir, but met with so determined a resistance from our men posted inside that they had to retire.

MAY 9.—At 3 A.M. they renewed the attack, but could not succeed in taking it, and for the second time were obliged to return to their own fortifications, where a party had been working the whole night to repair yesterday's damage.

MAY 11.—The man-of-war *Hof ter Linden* left for Telok Katapan in order, with the ships already there, to blockade the place and to prevent the escape of Radja Hadji's ships as well as to keep out hostile reinforcements.

MAY 14.—The old King of Siak, Radja Mohamad Ali, arrived with a pandjadjap and two kakaps manned with a crew of 78 men from the Straits of Moerong, and in the afternoon the Fiscal, E. François Thierens, the Licent Meester, Mr. E. Hoijnck van Papendrecht, and the first sworn clerk of the Police, Baumgarten, went on board his ship to welcome him. They accompanied him to land and as far as the Government House, and after his Highness had remained with the Honourable the Governor for about half-an-hour he was conducted to the house of the widow Verbrugge, which had been prepared for him, outside the Tranquéra gate. On landing, a salute of nine guns was fired from the castle walls; and from the great gate up to the steps of Government

House, where the Governor himself received him, the road was lined by a double row of soldiers who presented arms as he passed.

MAY 16.—In the evening, at about 9.30 o'clock, the enemy first attacked St. John's Hill and the outer batteries in the Bandailhera, and soon after the stockade at the foot of Boekit Tjina and our fortification on this hill, stretching towards Boenga Raja and Pangkalanrama; the fierceness of their attack made every one believe that they meant to venture on a general storm, for in spite of the shot and grape poured on them from our side they still held their ground and kept up a continual fire with their blunderbusses and rantakas till about eleven o'clock, when they again withdrew. In the quarter held by the Selangoerese and their party an attack was made on our batteries outside the Tranquéra, gate but with no better success; for our men there also made a good resistance, and after firing on either side had lasted till about twelve o'clock, the enemy had to retreat to their defences.

MAY 18.—At ten o'clock at night, the enemy again attacked St. John's Hill, and the outer batteries in the Bandailhera, besides those at Boekit Tjina, and as it was noticed from the hill that a strong force was marching towards Boenga Raja, the alarm was sounded in the town, and everyone was under arms till about twelve o'clock, but nothing more was heard of the enemy.

MAY 23.—At nine o'clock at night the enemy renewed the frequent but unsuccessful attack on our batteries in the Bandailhera and at the foot of Boekit Tjina, and firing on both sides lasted till about ten o'clock, when they suddenly and hastily withdrew, and from the lamentation which was heard from St. John's Hill it was supposed that they had suffered some extraordinary loss.

MAY 29.—In the morning at sunrise six ships and six smaller vessels were observed from St. Paul's Hill, one of which was far ahead. This vessel came to anchor in the roads at eight o'clock, and about nine the Commanding Lieutenant landed and reported to the Hon'ble Heer Pieter Gerardus de Bruijn, Governor and Director of this town and fortress, that the name of his vessel was the cutter *Batavier*, that it belonged to the fleet now in sight, which was under command of the Hon'ble Heer Jacob Pieter van Braam, Admiral-in-Chief of the East India squadron, which, consisted of the warships *Utrecht*, *Goes*, *Wassenaar*, *Monikkendam*, and

*Juno* and the Company's ship *Hinloopen*, the lighters *Haas* and *Vos*, and the sloop *Volle Maan*. The *Ondernemer*, which had been despatched from here to the south on the 22nd instant, was also with them.

JUNE 1.—The *Utrecht*, *Goes*, *Wassenaar*, *Monikkendam*, and *Juno*, with the cutter *Batavier*, and the lighters *Haas* and *Vos*, sailed to Telok Katapan at daybreak.

JUNE 5.—Early in the morning the fleet at Telok Katapan began to bombard the enemy's ships lying near the shore, and their fortifications, and continued this until midday. Also a detachment was sent from this to Oedjong Pasir and Semabok under command of four European Officers, consisting of two Non-commissioned Officers, a drummer and twenty-four European soldiers; together with four Officers, sixteen subordinate Officers, and five hundred Malay soldiers, and one extra vuurwerker, three bombardiers, three kanonniers, and forty musketeers, with one 24-pounder cannon, two six-pounders, one twelve-pounder, two three-pounders, a howitzer and a katskop each of 4-inch. This detachment having approached sufficiently close to the enemy's batteries began the attack at the same time both on the road to Semabok and at Oedjong Pasir; the enemy, however, offered everywhere a skilful resistance, and the fight became general, and lasted until four o'clock in the afternoon, when our side had to cease and turn back, on account of the fatigue of the men. Besides, the evening was approaching, and the marshy ground prevented our men from getting close enough to the enemy's stockade to be able to storm it.

Several shells and grenades were thrown inside and exploded, and twice it was observed that a blaze sprung up, which, however, was soon extinguished. The loss on the enemy's side could not be ascertained; ours was four killed and thirteen wounded.

JUNE 6.—Under command of a European Officer a detachment of three hundred and five Malay soldiers was again sent to Oedjong Pasir, with three bombardiers, two kanonniers, and fourteen musketeers, and two cannon of 6 lb. and 8 lb. and a 4-inch katskop: but the marshy ground again prevented them from getting near enough the enemy's intrenchments to fire with good effect, so after annoying them a short time they retired.

JUNE 8.—In the Company's armed ship *Diamant* were despatched to Telok Katapan to be employed in the expedition there, two

European officers, two Malay captains, seven upper and twenty-four under officers and two hundred and thirty-three soldiers.

JUNE 11.—The hooker *Handelaar* and the galwet *Concordia* were placed at the mouth of the river Doejong to prevent the enemy's vessels from getting out.

JUNE 12-15.—The fleet lying before Telok Katapan occasionally fired at the enemy's vessels anchored near the shore and at the fortifications, and on their side small parties attacked our outer intrenchments almost every night; but nothing else noteworthy occurred.

JUNE 16.—There were sent to Boekit Tampoerong, under command of Lieuts. Claas and Kiliaan, two non-commissioned officers, a drummer, and twelve European soldiers; also a captain, two upper and two under officers, and two hundred and eleven Malay soldiers together with an extra vuurwerker, two bombardiers, a kanonnier, and sixteen musketeers, with two six-pounder cannons and one 4-inch howitzer. This detachment having taken up a position on the hill continued firing at short intervals on the enemy's fortifications on the side of the Semabok road, and now and then threw a shell of which a few exploded inside, but others did not, apparently because they were extinguished in the muddy ground, or in consequence of the heavy rain which fell for some time.

Afterwards there came in sight of the fortress the man-of-war *Princess Louisa*, commanded by the Hon'ble Capt. Frederik Rudolph Carel, Count of Rechteren, and also the bark *Arend*, but, being signalled by the flag-ship *Utrecht*, they steered for Telok Katapan Bay to join the fleet there.

JUNE 17.—In the morning the same force which kept Boekit Tampoerong alarmed yesterday again marched out there with an extra vuurwerker, three bombardiers, three kanonniers, and sixteen musketeers, with two six-pounder cannons and one three-pounder, and a 7-inch mortar. They fired thence an occasional shell inside the enemy's stockade, with such effect that many of their posts were seen to fall and some caught fire from the bursting of a bomb. This firing and bombardment continued till about 6 o'clock, when our men retired.

The ships at Telok Katapan also fired occasionally at the enemy's ships and batteries there.

JUNE 18.—The troops which had been out on the 16th and 17th



returned again to Boekit Tampoerong, with a 12-pounder and two 3-pounder guns, and a 4-inch howitzer, and kept the enemy disturbed by a continual cannonading and bombardment, while at daybreak the fleet before Telok Katapan fired heavily with their big guns on the enemy's fleet and batteries. At about 8 o'clock it was seen from St. Paul's Hill that the ships with the landing party moved into Telok Katapan Bay, and soon after the heavy firing from the ships ceased. Then for more than half an hour was heard continual volleys of musketry, an unbroken running fire, and a little after 9 o'clock one could see over the point, on this side of Telok Katapan or Tandjong Pallas, a thick smoke rising, which lasted off and on the whole day. Meanwhile, about 10 A.M., the flag-ship signalled that the landing had been successful, and was answered by a countersignal from this fortress.

The troops which moved out from here in the morning towards midday became aware that the enemy were leaving their stockade to the east of this fortress in the greatest haste and confusion. They did not, however, at once take possession of it, but followed the fugitives almost to Telok Katapan, without loss either in killed or wounded. Two out of the three officers who were with them—viz., Lieuts. Ziegelitz and Kiliaan—each obtained one of the enemy's colours. There were also taken twenty-four ships, large and small, and the following guns :—

1 iron cannon of	6 lb.	4 dubbel-haken	
3 " " "	4 "	24 pieces round shot of	30 lb.
3 " " "	3 "	19 " " " "	24 "
1 " " "	1 "	163 " " " "	12 "
1 " swivel gun	0 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	73 " " " "	6 "
1 brass cannon	2 "	104 " " " "	3 "
4 brass swivel guns	0 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	105 " " " "	2 "
29 rantakas of all kinds		79 " " " "	1 "
1 iron rantaka		55 " " " "	0 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

181 pieces round shot of all sorts, tin and iron, with two barrels and one tub of native gunpowder.

Thus, through the merciful direction of God, we were entirely freed on this side of the town and fortress from the enemy who had planned our downfall. Towards evening a report spread that Radja Hadji was killed, and that this was the reason of the hasty flight from Semabok, Doejong and elsewhere.

JUNE 19.—In the morning at 4 o'clock, by order of the Hon'ble Heer Pieter Gerardus de Bruiju, Governor and Director of this

town and fortress, the Fiscal, E. François Thierens, Sabandar Hoijnck van Papendrecht, and Secretary Baumgarten went to Telok Katapan in order to congratulate the Hon'ble Heer Jacob Pieter van Braam, Admiral of the East India Squadron, on his victory of yesterday, and at sunrise a salute of 21 guns was fired from the castle walls in honour of the joyful event.

A detachment of one European officer and two non-commissioned officers, a drummer, and twenty-six soldiers, with two Malay upper and two under officers and forty-nine soldiers, were sent out to protect the coolies who were employed to bring in spoil, and to destroy the enemy's fortifications to the east of this fortress and on the road to Telok Katapan. Another detachment, under command of Lieut. Nicholaas Christian Vetter, marched from Boenga Raja to Pringgi, to turn the enemy out from there, but they found the works already abandoned; so, after knocking them down and setting fire to them, they returned.

Some of the Malacca soldiers who followed the enemy to Telok Katapan yesterday, reported on their return, to-day, that they had found on the battlefield a wounded Bugis, and on asking him where Radja Hadji had gone, he told them that not only had he heard that Radja Hadji was killed, but also, immediately after the attack on the biggest stockade, he had seen a body carried away by two men in a kind of hang mat, and supposed it to be that of Radja Hadji, because it was followed by some well-dressed women.

At night about 11 o'clock the Selangoerese attacked our fortifications on the Tranquéra road and those near Gerestein, but they were speedily forced by our guns to retire.

JUNE 20.—A force was sent to Oedjong Pasir and to Telok Katapan, for the same purpose and in the same way as on the 19th.

JUNE 21.—This detachment, returning to-day, brought back with them a Bugis of the name of Akier, whom they had found in the jungle. This man, on being questioned, said that he had been in Radja Hadji's stockade when it was stormed by the Europeans, and that Radja Hadji was killed by a shot through the breast; that his body was afterwards carried away in a hang mat on a pole by the Panghoeloe of Padang and a slave, and followed by some women; that he had joined the party and seen that they laid the body in a small thicket which he could show them, and afterwards had fled, surely for fear of being overtaken by the Europeans, who meanwhile had taken possession of everything.

The ship *Hoop*, the hooker *Handelaar*, and the galwet *Concordia* left for Tandjong Kling where the *Gertruida Susanna* had been lying so long to prevent the escape of the Selangoer vessels from Batang Tiga Bay.

JUNE 22.—The Bugis Akier, who was found in the jungle and brought up here yesterday, with the Malay, Intjeh Mangsoer, and a few men to protect them, were sent to Telok Katapan, the former to point out the body of Radja Hadji, and the latter, who knew the Prince well, to identify it.

Intjeh Mangsoer, on returning in the afternoon, declared that when he came to Telok Katapan with the prisoner Akier, the latter had shewn him between that place and Tandjong Pallas an unburied dead body, which he recognised unmistakably as that of Radja Hadji, not only by the figure and the short teeth, in which he differed from other Bugis, but also by the scar of a wound on his thigh, which he had got at Linggi in a previous war against the Company.

JUNE 23.—Three European officers, and four non-commissioned officers, two drummers and forty-eight soldiers, with four Malay upper and fourteen under officers and one hundred and ninety-six soldiers, were sent from the outskirts of Tranquera to Tandjong Kling, in order to turn out the enemy also from this side of the town, but on coming up to the enemy's stockades they found them deserted, so after destroying them they set them on fire.

The Malays Madjid and Amien were sent to Telok Katapan this morning for a further examination of the body of Radja Hadji at Tandjong Pallas, and on their return they declared that having inspected it carefully, and noticed the scar mentioned by the Malay Mangsoer, and the bare shaven head, and also a black circular mark, pointed out by Amien, who knew that Radja Hadji bore such a mark, they recognised the body as that of Radja Hadji, and were convinced that it could be none other than that of the Prince. In the evening there returned from Telok Katapan the men-of-war *Utrecht*, *Goes*, *Wassenaar*, *Princess Louisa*, *Monnikendam* and *Juno*, and the Company's armed vessels *Hof ter Linden* and *Diamant*, together with the smaller boats which had been there.

JUNE 24.—This morning the Governor sent the chief of the Achinese, Posaijan, with some Malays to Telok Katapan, with an escort of twenty-four native soldiers, in order to put the body of Radja Hadji into a coffin and bring it in. They arrived late in the evening in the Bandailhera, and remained in the outer battery till the next morning, when they brought the body inside the fort,

where it was buried at the foot of St. Paul's Hill, behind the artillery store. The Achinese chief, Posaijan, assured the Governor that he recognised the body as that of Radja Hadji whom he had known during his long residence in Riouw.

JUNE 25.—In the morning at 2 o'clock we were awakened by a loud report, and afterwards learnt with great sorrow that the Company's armed ship *Dolphijn*, which was lying in the roads, had blown up with all her crew on board, and only one body was found—viz., that of the piper Rijk Adelaar. A Chinaman and four Javanese escaped, but they could give no account of how the disaster happened for they were asleep, and were awakened by the shock. So of this dreadful occurrence nothing farther is known than what is told in the journal of the nearest ship, the *Hinloopen*, which puts the list of killed at a total of two hundred and three persons.

JULY 13.—There sailed for Selangoer the ships *Utrecht*, *Goes*, the *Princess Louisa* and *Wassenaar*, besides the barks *Constantia* and *Gertruida Susanna*, the pantjalangs *Rustenberg* and *Geduld*, the galwet *Concordia*, the sloop *Volle Maan*,\* and the lighters *Haas* and *Vos*,† with some armed native boats belonging to the old King of Siak, Radja Mohamad Ali.

There also departed for Selangoer, distributed among these ships, one lieutenant, one ensign, one corporal, one drummer and twelve European soldiers, together with two hundred and forty Malay soldiers under command of their officers, thirty-one in all.

JULY 22.—There were sent besides to Riouw, the men-of-war the *Hof ter Linden* and *Diamant*, with a further reinforcement of two ensigns, four non-commissioned officers, and eighteen Malay soldiers.

AUG. 1. ‡—Arrived from Selangoer the Company's pantjalang *Geduld* with a letter from the Hon'ble Admiral van Braam to the Hon'ble Heer Pieter Gerardus de Bruijn, Governor and Director of this town and fortress, communicating the news of the defeat of Radja Brahima, King of Selangoer, and his followers, and of the conquest of that kingdom on the 2nd instant by the victorious arms of the Company's fleet under the skilful and prudent direction of the said Heer van Braam; which joyful event was made known to the community by a salute of 21 guns from the castle walls.

AUG. 21.—A communication was received from Selangoer by the bark *Constantia*, from the newly proclaimed king of that country,

\* Full Moon. † Hare and Fox.

‡ This date is evidently wrong, as the victory of the 2nd is announced.

Radja Mohamad Ali, besides one from the commandant there, Lieut. Gerardus Smits, dated 9th and 13th instant, and addressed to the Hon'ble Heer Pieter Gerardus de Bruijn, Governor, etc.

AUG. 30.—The men-of-war *Utrecht* and *Wassenaar* arrived from Selangoer bringing a letter from the old Prince of Siak, Radja Mohamad Ali, now proclaimed King of Selangoer.

SEPT. 2.—Hadji Mahmat, Envoy of Radja Ali, calling himself Regent of Djohor and Pahang, arrived from Riouw in a kakap, armed with two small cannon, with a crew of fifteen men, bringing a letter from that Prince to the Governor and Council, dated August 19th.

SEPT. 4.—The Company's pantjalangs *Bliton* and *Banka* were despatched to Riouw, with a letter from the Governor and Council to Captains Christian Frederik Winterheim and Jacob Frederiks, commanding the men-of-war *Hof ter Linden* and *Diamant*, there at anchor, dated this day.

SEPT. 15.—The Company's bark *Constantia* and pantjalang *Geduld* left for Riouw with a communication from the Governor and Council to Captain Jacob Frederiks, commanding the Company's men-of-war and smaller ships in the roads there.

SEPT. 19.—The *Concordia*, *Patriot*, *Batavier* and *Ondernemer*, with the *Haas*, returned from Selangoer, and in the first-named vessel arrived the King of Selangoer, formerly Prince of Siak, Radja Mohamad Ali, who was escorted to land by two lieutenants of the *Utrecht*.

OCT. 7.—The *Batavier*, *Patriot*, *Concordia*, with the lighters *Haas* and *Vos*, were sent to Riouw, the first named bearing a letter from the Governor and Council to Captain Jacob Frederiks, commanding the Company's ships in the roads of Riouw.

OCT. 10.—The men-of-war *Utrecht*, *Goes*, the *Wassenaar*, *Princess Louisa*, *Monnikendam* and *Juno*, with the *Hinloopen*, left for Riouw under command of Admiral van Braam, and were saluted with 15 guns from the castle walls, and a return salute of the same number was fired from the *Utrecht*.

OCT. 17.—The Company's pantjalang *Banka* arrived from Riouw bringing a letter from Captain Jacob Frederiks dated 6th inst., with the annexed papers according to the accompanying Register, and one from Lieut. Johannes de Frein, commanding the *Hof ter Linden*, dated 5th inst., both addressed to the Governor and

Council. By the same ship arrived Captain Christian Frederik Winterheim.

OCT. 20.—The Company's ship *Mars* arrived from Batavia with the Hon'ble Naval Captains Egidius van Braam and J. C. Verheul.

NOV. 2.—The ship *Mars* was sent to Riouw to convey provisions and stores to the Batavia fleet and to the Company's ships *Patriot* and *Concordia*. By her also left Captains Egidius van Braam and J. C. Verheul, who had arrived on October 20th.

NOV. 11.—A fishing boat sent out to the *Ondernemer*, which since yesterday had been in sight, brought back a letter from Lieutenant Hass with the pleasant news that Riouw had been taken by the Company.

NOV. 12.—The *Ondernemer* came in, with a despatch from Admiral van Braam to the Governor Pieter Gerardus de Bruijn, communicating the news of a severe battle on the 29th October, in which the Netherlands arms, under the skilful and prudent direction of the said Hon'ble Heer van Braam, had been a glorious victory; and that in the night of the 30th-31st, the Bugis with Radja Ali at their head had taken flight, and afterwards the legitimate successor of the Djohor house, Radja Machmoed, with the Chinese and Malays resident in Riouw, had capitulated. This joyful event was made generally known by a salute of 21 guns.

NOV. 15.—The *Mars*, which had left on the 2nd, returned from Riouw.

DEC. 10.—The Company's bark *Constantia*, the *Ondernemer* and the lighters *Haas* and *Vos* arrived from Riouw, bringing a letter from the Commandant there, Jacob Christian Vetter, and one from the King of Djohor and Pahang, both directed to the Governor and Council, and dated, respectively, November 30th and 1st instant.

DEC. 23.—The Company's pantjalang *Bliton* left for Riouw, and by her was sent a letter dated yesterday from the Hon'ble Heer Pieter Gerardus de Bruijn, Governor and Director of this town and fortress, and the Council, to Lieutenant Jacob Christian Vetter, Commandant, and to Secretary Abraham Maurits Fabricius, second in the Company's garrison at Riouw, and sent over by this vessel.

DEC. 28.—The armed ships *Diamant* and the *Hof ter Linden* were sent to Batavia.

The invasion of an European settlement by a Malay force and an attack upon a fortified town, in which there were some, if only a few, disciplined troops, seem to us, fortunately, at this period, to be events which are beyond the bounds of possibility. It is noteworthy, however, that the invaders found supporters among the Malacca Malays. The villagers of Duyong (see verse eighteen of the ballad and the entry under February 15th in the Dutch record) joined Raja Haji, and a first success on the part of a Muhammadan enemy might at any time influence the loyalty of a Malay peasantry.

The arrest of De Wind mentioned by Begbie is not alluded to in the Dutch official diary, and whereas from Begbie's account one would gather that Captain Abo's ship was blown up before the relief of the town by the arrival of Admiral van Braam's fleet, it is clear from the diary that the loss of the *Dolphijn* did not occur until Raja Haji had been defeated, killed and buried, and not until nearly a month after the arrival of the fleet from Riouw.

À propos of the arrival of Raja Mohamed Ali, of Siak, the Malay author says *Malayu pandei mem-buat tipu*, "The Malay is skilled in fraud," and it is clear that the Dutch felt very uncertain of the value of his professions of friendship and supposed that he would, if admitted within the fort, intrigue with the enemy outside. He was therefore lodged in the Tranquera suburb, with "the widow Verbrugge"—the widow, perhaps, of Mr. Ary Verbrugge, whose name appears as an envoy to Perak in the native chronicles of that State (see *Journal Str. Br. R.A.S., Notes and Queries*, p. 31). Begbie says, "Tuankoo Mahomed Alli came over from Siak during these commotions ostensibly to assist the Dutch, by whom he was kindly received and allotted a residence in Tranqueirah, it not being deemed prudent to admit him within the walls of the fort."

Raja Mohamed Ali's retention of the position given to him by the Dutch (see entry in the official record under 21st August), as King of Selangor was a very brief one. Raja Ibrahim re-took his fort and kingdom in 1785 and the Siak adventurer returned to Sumatra and is not recognised by the Malays as ever having really been Raja of Selangor.

The Malay ballad concludes with a reference to the arrival of the widow of Raja Haji from Riouw to beg for the corpse of her husband. This was apparently refused and a guard placed over

the grave to prevent the abstraction of the body. Regarding this the Dutch record is silent. It was not until a few years ago, when the new High School was being built, that the bones of the deceased warrior were disinterred and taken to Riouw where they now lie. With their removal the Malacca Malays lost a place of pious visitation and payment of vows (*bayar niat*).

This paper would not be complete without a translation of the Malay prose account of Raja Haji's war with the Dutch, which is to be found in a MS. chronicle of the Malayo-Bugis Rajas of the Straits of Malacca, written by Raja Ali, of Riouw, in A. H. 1288, and called by the author "Tuhfat-el-nafis." It is always interesting to note the point of view from which the native historian regards events. The version which the Malays possess as history is as follows:—

"Sultan Mahmud was reigning in Riau\* and Raja Haji had not long been Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda when the Yang-di-per-Tuan of Selangor, Sultan Saleh-ed-din fell ill and soon afterwards died."

"Information of this event was duly forwarded by his chiefs to Riau and Raja Haji appointed his successor. Raja Ibrahim, son of the deceased Sultan, became Yang-di-per-Tuan Besar and Raja Nala was made Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda."

"Raja Haji had governed Riau and its dependencies as Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda for about eight years when there befell an ordinance of God, who is all-powerful and who causes His will to operate upon all His servants according to His plans and makes them know how despicable is this transitory life with its passing pleasures, so that they may not love this world but set their affections on a hereafter which shall be enduring and the pleasures and kingdom of which shall be exceeding great, as God says in the Koran: 'When ye shall see it—that is, the life hereafter—ye shall see delights and a kingdom that are exceeding great.' In several succeeding verses are described the insignificance of this world and the pleasures of the life to come."

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\* *Riau* is the transliteration of ريو, the town which the Dutch call "Riouw" and the English "Rhio." This is probably connected in derivation with ريوه *riyuh* or *riauh*, noise, noisy, loud sounds (of joy or distress), but in Von De Wall's Malay Dictionary the words are given as quite distinct ريو *rijau*, naam der bekende hoofdplaats, and ريه *rijauh*, luidruchtig; woelig.



“The beginning of the events which led to Riau being embroiled in war, and eventually being captured, is ascribed to two different causes. The first account, which I have obtained from the local histories of Siak and Selangor, corroborated by the statements of old men who were alive at the time of the events about to be described and took part in them, is as follows:—Raja Haji, the Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda of Riau, made a convention with the Dutch East India Company by which it was agreed that the enemies of the Company should be the enemies of Raja Haji also, and that all prizes and booty should be divided equally between the allies, if Raja Haji took part in the operations. Subsequently there came to Riau a vessel, belonging to enemies of the Dutch, and she anchored at Pulau Bayan. Thereupon Raja Haji caused information to be given to the Governor of Malacca, and there came a Dutch ship from Malacca which attacked the one anchored at Pulau Bayan and the latter was captured and taken away to Malacca with all her cargo. There she was adjudged to be a prize according to the custom of war. Nevertheless, Raja Haji did not get any share. He started for Malacca to enquire as to this and got as far as Muar, where he was met by a Dutch official sent by the Governor of Malacca to discuss the matter with him. The name of this gentleman, as given in the chronicle of Selangor, was Señor Bram, but some people say that his real name was Abraham Vergil.\* The Capitan Malayu of Malacca accompanied him. Raja Haji represented to the two agents of the Governor of Malacca that the prize had been taken in consequence of information given by him, and further that she had been taken in the harbour of Riau, in his territory, and demanded his share. The agents of the Governor of Malacca refused to entertain his complaint and hence arose misunderstandings and dissatisfaction which culminated in war. This is one account of the origin of the war, as set out in the chronicle of Selangor and as given by old men who have related what they knew.”

“But there is another account which I have found in the chronicles of Lingga and Riau, compiled by Ungku Busu, the father of Ungku Awak of Dungun. According to this, Raja Kechil, Tûn Dalam, the Yang-di-per-Tuan of Trenggánu, took counsel with Captain Klasi †

\* *Vergil* is evidently an attempt at *Velge*, the name of a well-known Malacca family. But the emissary was not called Abraham Velge, but Abraham de Wind. See Begbie's narrative above.

† Captain Glass, an Englishman, is mentioned in connection with Trenggánu by Begbie, *The Malayan Peninsula*, p. 88.

how to bring about the destruction of Riau. Now the Yang-di-per-Tuan of Trenggánu had a Chinese girl whom he had just caused to become a Muhammadan, giving her the name of Si Jamilah. Captain Klasi asked for her and Raja Kechil, Tún Dalam, gave her to him, asking him in return to do something to bring about a fight at Kwala Riau, so as to set the people of Riau against the Dutch Company. Captain Klasi cohabited with Jamilah who became *enceinte*, and when he left for Riau to provoke the promised disturbance with the French\* at Kwala Riau he left Jamilah under the charge of his brother, Captain Gadis, and directed him to convey her to China. While Captain Klasi was away at Riau Captain Gadis sailed for China, but by the decree of God most high, when he was off Tanjong Lalabi on the coast of Trenggánu a tremendous gale came on and his ship was wrecked and all the Hollanders on board were drowned, not one being saved, and Si Jamilah perished with the rest. Besides this ship, about one hundred and ten prahus were lost in this storm, including a number of prahus from Sambas of various sizes and the boat (*sulub*, Dutch *sloep*) of the Yang-di-per-Tuan, Raja Kechil, Tún Dalam, himself. This, it is said, is the story of the secret cause of the troubles."

"To return to our history, when the Governor of Malacca refused to entertain the claims of Raja Haji the latter sent back his convention with the Dutch Company, saying that one side observed it and the other side did not, and having done this he returned to Riau. The Governor of Malacca was angry at the return of the documents and he took counsel with the Admiral (*Raja Laut*), named Pieter Jacob van Braam. Another version, however, gives the name of the Dutch Naval Commander as Tuan Abo. During the consultations, calumnies and injurious reports of all kinds were carried to the Governor of Malacca and to the Admiral to the effect that the Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda of Riau, Raja Haji, was about to attack Malacca and had fitted out an expedition for this purpose. Then said the Governor of Malacca to Admiral van Braam, 'Raja Haji is going to attack Malacca—let us go and attack him first.' So a Dutch expedition set forth with ever so many ships

\* It was a French ship that took the English merchantman, according to Begbie. The story of the connivance of the master of the latter is, of course, absurd. The surname *Geddes* would correspond with what is written in Malay *Gadis*. The Malay author would not understand that Geddes could not be the brother of Glass. If the ship that went down off Trenggánu was an English vessel, as seems probable, the author makes a mistake in describing her crew as "Hollanders."

of war and armed ketches (*kichi prang*) to invade Riau and blockade the port, hindering the entry of trading-boats. Raja Haji was furious at this, and he issued forth with a number of boats and there was a great fight. *Lagum! lagam!* terrific was the noise of the cannon, just like a thunderbolt cleaving the mountains, and the smoke from the muskets obscured Kwala Riau like a mist, and loud were the shouts of the combatants, and the war-cries of the Bugis (*kilong musong*)."

"This went on till the evening when both sides ceased fighting, and at nightfall the ships stood out to sea and half of the *penjajaps* re-entered the Riau river. Next day the fight was resumed with a tremendous cannonade from guns and *lepas* and *rantakas* on both sides and at night they again stopped. This went on daily for ever so many months without either side giving in and rice and all kinds of provisions were dear, for trading-boats could only enter with difficulty, being intercepted by the ships of war, sometimes they got through and sometimes they did not."

"Raja Haji caused stockades to be erected at Tanjong Pinang and Telok Kreting and Pulau Peningat and manned each with a sufficient force of defenders. The stockade at Peningat was manned by Siantan men and the large *penjajaps* which carried cannon were ranged along the coast; of these there were about one hundred and fifty large and small down as far as Tanjong Uban, and some were stationed behind Riau to help to bring in the trading craft from Siam and Cochin China and other places bringing rice and other provisions."

"So the fighting went on day after day in the harbour of Riau. Raja Haji himself directed the operations in person and he used to paddle about in a long canoe (*sampan bidor yang panjang*)."

"He used to paddle about from one *penjajap* to another enquiring if the equipment was deficient in any way, and he used to do this in the thick of the fighting when bullets were flying from both directions. The following story I have from an old man of Bugis extraction named Inche 'Sumpo' who was a youth just old enough to wear a *kris* at the time of these events:—He remembered being with a number of other youths of good family, of about the same age as himself, in a boat in which they were conveying Raja Haji during a fight. They were paddling across from one *penjajap* to another when a shot was fired from a war-ship painted black and the ball struck the water, close to the boat and ricocheted to one side. The splash wetted the cloth which the Yang-di-per-Tuan

Muda was wearing, but he did not take any notice and merely told the boys to paddle on, and if any of them ducked their heads when bullets flew by he struck them with a rattan whip which he carried."

"One day a long ketch belonging to the Dutch approached the shore at Pulau Alus and was becalmed there. Six or seven *penjajaps* immediately came out and attacked her, and then there was *lagum! lagam!* a tremendous cannonade—and that ketch very nearly had to yield, and we very nearly got her. The Commander of the party who attacked her was a Panglima, named Inche Kubu, who had a *ghurab* fifteen fathoms long. During the fight the poop (*baranda*) of the Dutch vessel caught fire and a number of her crew had got into their boats and were ready to pull out to sea, but a strong wind got up and several vessels were able to sail up to her assistance, so the *penjajaps* had to sheer off and the ketch got away. Then night came on and fighting ceased, only to begin again next day, and so it went on day after day; if there was plenty of wind the ships stood in, and if it was calm the *penjajaps* went out and gave battle and at night all fighting stopped. The vessels of both sides were so close sometimes that conversation took place between those on board; for among the crews of the Dutch ships there were here and there a few men of Bugis descent, born in Malacca and related (*ber-kerabat*) to the Bugis of Riau. The former would perhaps call out 'What is one to do? One takes employment where there is food to be got; but that need not interfere with our relationship.' Or a Dutch sailor would sing out 'Hi! you Malay (or Bugis), to-morrow we'll have a good fight, eh?' And the Malay or Bugis would answer back 'All right.' This is what I myself have heard from the lips of old men."

"One day the Dutch attacked the stockades of the Siantan men on Pulau Peningat, having landed a force of soldiers by means of boats at the back of the island. They fell upon the Siantan men unawares during a heavy shower of rain and took all the stockades, the defenders scattering and taking to the jungle. Then the Dutch landed a quantity of dogs and hunted down all those who had escaped and were hiding in the woods. When the dogs found one they barked, and then the soldiers came up and shot him, and the musketry fire was like the popping of the rice-grains when *bertih* is being roasted. Thus, all the Siantan men on Pulau Peningat were killed, not one was left, for there was no time to run away."

"Attracted by the crackling (*meng-kérútip*) of the musketry fire at Pulau Peningat, the *penjajaps* at Kwala Riau made for that

place and arrived there just as the troops had re-embarked to return to their ships. A fight then took place between the *penjajaps* and the boats and there was a great deal of firing with muskets and blunderbusses, during which three of the boats were sunk and a number of men were killed, but the rest of them got away. Then the ships and ketches sailed up and opened fire upon the *penjajaps*, to which the latter responded. The fight ended without a victory for either side, and at nightfall the ships stood out to sea again and the Malays and Bugis landed at Pulau Peningat to search for the bodies of the Siantan men. Those that were found were buried hurriedly, two or three together in one grave, and when this was done the *penjajaps* left again and fighting recommenced next day."

"After the war had gone on for nine months (some people say *eleven* months, God knoweth the truth) there was a parley between the combatants—that is to say, between the Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda, Raja Haji, on one side and Pieter Jacob van Braam (or, as some say, Captain Abo) on the other, and there was a truce in order to allow of negotiations. The Dutch wanted to bring one large ship of war into the Riau river, but Raja Haji objected to this, saying that if the object was a conference with a view to an understanding no ship must be brought in, to which the Dutch replied that they had no sinister intention. Raja Haji still objected, and the Dutch said that they could not be expected to come to Riau without soldiers with them during a time of war. Their war-ship persisted in trying to get in, so fighting recommenced, fire being opened on her from the stockade at Telok Kreting. Then there was a tremendous cannonade, the fire from the ship drowning every other noise. The stockade was very near falling, owing to gunpowder running short, but the Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda sent them a supply in a boat. The man who took it across was Shahbandar Bopeng and the lad who paddled him was Inche Kalik, the head of all the youths of good family at that time. The boat was fired on by the ship with ball and canister and was sunk, but her men got on shore with one barrel of powder and took it up to the stockade at Telok Kreting, which was able thus to fire four or five rounds."

"Then, by the decree of God most high, the ship took fire and, by the explosion of the gunpowder on board, she was blown into the air and fragments were sent flying over land and sea and all her crew perished. According to one account, they numbered eight hundred and, according to another account, five hundred, and there was a Kommissaris among them. I have learned from old Dutch

inhabitants of Malacca that her name was *Malacca's Welvaren*.\* After this occurrence there was a cessation of hostilities, during which negotiations were continued."

"Now the Yang-di-per-Tuan of Selangor, Raja Ibrahim, and his brother, Raja Nala, the Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda of the same State, when they heard that their relative, Raja Haji, was at war with the Dutch at Riau, took counsel together, with the Dato' Punggawa and the Chiefs and elders in Selangor, how they might co-operate with the Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda of Riau. When a plan of action had been decided on, the Raja of Selangor set out to invade Malacca. He halted at Rembau to consult with the Penghulu and the four Sucus, and a conference having been held there he went on to Pendas † and concerted measures with the Penghulu of Pendas and the four Sucus there. When this was over he went to Sungei Bahru and established himself there, and then marched to Batang Tiga. There he constructed a large stockade, which was soon attacked by a force sent out from Malacca, composed partly of soldiers and partly of Malacca people. A fight then took place between the Selangor men and the Malacca force and there was slaughter on both sides. A number of soldiers and Malacca people were killed, and the head of one of their leaders was cut off. The Malacca force was defeated and retreated to the town again. The Governor of Malacca then summoned all his ships of war to return to the port, and sent a letter to Pieter Jacob van Braam at Riau informing him that Malacca was invaded by the Yang-di-per-Tuan of Selangor. The Admiral at once gave orders that all his ships should sail back to Malacca, and the harbour of Riau was soon left quite clear, all the Dutch ships having gone. The Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda of Selangor, Raja Nala, then set out for Riau with a *kakap*, manned by thirty men, to invite Raja Haji to come to Malacca. There was a great difference of opinion among the young Rajas in Riau, some being in favour of his going and some being altogether against it, which ended in a serious misunderstanding between the descendants of Marhum Janggut, Raja Ali ‡

\* See the entry under date January 24, on p. 19, where the name is given. Without this clue it would not be easy to give the Dutch equivalent of

مَلَّاقَ سَوَّارَ فَاَرَ The Commissary who lost his life was Mr. Lemker.

† Pendas, the place where the Linggi river divides, one branch going up to Sungei Ujong and the other to Rembau, now generally called Sempang.

‡ Raja Ali afterwards succeeded Raja Haji as Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda of Riau.

and Raja Abdul Samad.\* Raja Haji himself was bent upon going: first, because the Selangor men were actually fighting; secondly, because his royal relative had personally come to ask him; and thirdly because he hoped for merit in the sight of God (فضيلة) by waging a religious war. For these three reasons he could not restrain himself. When all his preparations were ready he set out for Malacca. His nephew, the Yang-di-per-Tuan Besar, Sultan Mahmud, insisted upon accompanying his uncle as far as Muar, where he was left behind, while Raja Haji pushed on to Malacca. The latter established himself near Telok Katapang and built a stockade at Tanjong Palas, at the same time ordering Punggawa Puna Sati to attack Semábok. There was fighting at Semábok for some days between the Bugis and the Dutch, many being killed and wounded on both sides. The latter at length gave way, a number of soldiers having been killed and the Semábok people having lost several Panglimas. Not long after Semábok had been taken by Raja Haji, Sultan Mahmud came to Telok Katapang to see him, but his uncle induced him to return to Muar. 'Do not,' said he, 'take part in this campaign, but leave it to me, for it may be that God most high has predestined that my time shall end in this war, and in that case it is first to God, next to the Prophet of God, and thirdly to your Highness that I desire to commit the care and protection of my people and my Bugis dependents. And I should accept this fate with joy, for I should die in the hope that all my past sins would be forgiven by God most high, by reason of my death in battle.'†

"Sultan Mahmud wept bitterly at hearing these words and his uncle wept also. The Sultan then returned to Muar to await there the issue of the operations."

"Raja Haji visited Batang Tiga, together with the Yang-di-per-Tuan of Selangor, and made a stockade there and ordered an attack on Malacca on the land side. A detachment of Malacca men and Dutch soldiers came out and when the two forces met there was a fight, with a tremendous discharge of muskets and blunderbusses, and when they got to close quarters swords and spears and *klewangs* and *krises* were used. Many were killed and wounded on both

\* Raja Abdul Samad (afterwards killed in battle with the Dutch) was in favour of Raja Haji invading Malacca, Raja Ali opposed the proposal.

† "War against enemies of El-Islám, who have been the first aggressors, is enjoined as a sacred duty; and he who loses his life in fulfilling this duty, if unpaid, is promised the rewards of a martyr."—Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, I. 133.

sides. Before long the Malacca force was defeated and retreated to the town. After this there was no fighting for some days, and then the Yang-di-per-Tuan of Selangor sent fifty Selangor men to Telok Katapang to fetch a large boat, which had been presented to him by the Yang-di-per-Tuan Besar, and to bring her to Batang Tiga. She was, however, attacked by the Dutch and was struck by a cannon-ball and sunk; but she was not burnt. The Selangor men returned to Batang Tiga again."

"When Raja Haji was established at Tanjong Palas, near Telok Katapang, he ordered an attack to be made on the east side of Malacca by some hundreds of Malays and Bugis. Again the Malacca men sallied forth, with hundreds of Dutch soldiers, and when the two forces met there was a great fight.\* The Punggawa led his men to the attack of a gun upon a carriage, and after a hand-to-hand fight it was captured by the Bugis and Riau men, and the Malacca people retreated to the town.† Then hostilities ceased for a month or half a month, and then there was another engagement, then another period of quiet and then another fight. As time went on the Malacca people were defeated more and more, until the whole of the territory round the town had been reduced by Raja Haji, and nothing remained to the Dutch but the town of Malacca itself with its fortress."

"It is related that the war had lasted for about a year without any decisive defeat on either side and the Governor of Malacca was becoming very anxious, because assistance was so long in coming from Batavia. He brought into the fort, with their wives and families, all the Europeans who lived outside the walls, and a very strict watch was maintained by patrol (*sambang*) day and night. The Governor also sent messengers to the neighbouring Malay States to say that if the Company were victorious a reward would be given to those Rajas from whom support was received."

"When the Governor's letter to this effect reached Siak, the Yam Tuan, Mohamed Ali, took counsel with his nephew, Saiyid Ali bin Osman, and then started for Malacca, tempted by the riches of this world, to assist the Governor. (Nevertheless, it is stated in the chronicle of Selangor that when the Dutch attacked and took Telok Katapang, Yam Tuan Mohamed Ali and Saiyid Ali were *not* present)."

\* Described in language already used; translation omitted to avoid monotony.

† The Dutch account does not admit the capture of the gun. It was "unmounted and taken back."—See p. 27.



“The Yang-di-per-Tuan of Selangor made a journey to Rembau for amusement and spent some time there. Thence he returned to Sungei Bahru with a large following of Rembau men. He then made arrangements for a serious attack upon Malacca.”

“At last the reinforcements expected by the Governor from Batavia arrived, consisting of about thirty vessels, large and small, ships of war and armed ketches, with thousands of troops both white and black. As soon as they arrived, about nine large ships attacked Telok Katapang, and there was a severe engagement between the stockades and the ships, which ended at nightfall and was renewed next day for several days. Even in a time of danger like this Raja Haji amused himself every night with plays and dancers, and feasting and giving feasts to the Princes and Chiefs; but, nevertheless, his piety was no pretence and he never discontinued repeating his prayers; his beads \* never left his hands, and on Thursday nights he never failed to celebrate the festival † of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, on whom be the blessings of God and His peace, just as if his situation was that of a person free from anxiety.”

“At last when his hour had come and the fulfilment of the measure and quantity of time allotted to him by God (who is ever to be praised and most high) in the furtherance of His designs, an attack was made by a body of some thousands of Dutch troops from the land side, who had got behind the small stockade. It should be explained that the large stockade,—namely, the one held by Raja Haji himself—was at Tanjong Palas, and that a smaller one further inland was commanded by Inche Ibrahim, the son of Bandahara Hassan. The Dutch made an assault upon Inche Ibrahim’s stockade, and after a hand-to-hand fight the stockade was carried and Inche Ibrahim made his escape to the large stockade in which Raja Haji resided. Then Raja Haji ordered his *panglimas* to sally out and attack the Dutch. He himself did not cease reading a religious book. The *panglimas* who went out engaged the Dutch troops, and there was a fight in which there were losses on both sides. The Dutch soldiers, of whom there were thousands, kept up an incessant fire of musketry, which crackled like the popping of rice being parched. Numbers of Bugis were shot down (martyred in God’s

\* Expressions in praise of God often follow the ordinary prayers and are counted with the beads.

† Mulid-en-Nabi.

cause) before they could reach the enemy, but those who could get up to the Dutch attacked them hand to hand, and there was tremendous shouting and noise and many were killed and wounded on both sides. During this engagement the Dutch troops completely surrounded the large stockade, standing in rows, one row behind another. Then Raja Haji ordered a general attack to be made. Arong Lenga, who had to ride a pony because he was suffering from a kind of boil on the breast (*paipa*), charged the Dutch line with his men and was killed, he and his pony; of the Dutch, too, many were killed. A number of Dutch officers and soldiers then entered the stockade, and were encountered by Daing Selikang, with his *Panglimas*, Talisang and Haji Ahamad, who threw themselves upon the advancing lines of the Dutch troops and perished, all three of them, martyrs in God's cause, like brave men. Many others, too, there were, men of high standing, who died similarly and scorned to turn their backs. The Dutch lost about seventy men killed in this action, including three officers."

"Then Raja Haji arose and drew his dagger (*badek*), holding in his other hand the religious book which he had been reading. He was instantly seized by a number of his own followers who were trying to hold him back, and while this was going on he was hit by a musket ball fired from the Dutch ranks, and he fell and almost immediately expired."

"When the Dutch saw that Raja Haji had been killed they stopped firing and remained drawn up in ranks; all the followers of the Yang-di-per-Tuan Muda, male and female, quitted the stockade and made their escape unmolested by the troops. Among these were the two sons of Raja Haji, Raja Jafar and Raja Idris, and his nephew, Raja Suleiman; the latter was wounded and was carried off by his people. Raja Jafar was carried by a man named Inche Layar, a descendant of the family of Magat Inu. In this way, all the surviving followers of Raja Haji got clear away from Telok Katapang and made good their escape to Muar, without further molestation from the Dutch. Thus was Telok Katapang taken by the Dutch."

"It is related that after this the Governor of Malacca directed the Capitan Malayu and the elders of the city to go out and bring in the body of the late Raja Haji. A procession of men and women, with lamentations and weeping, conveyed the body within the walls of the fort in the manner customary at royal funerals,

and as it passed the gate the Dutch fired minute guns. The whole expense of the interment was paid by the Governor of Malacca, and alms were distributed by the Capitan Malayu under his orders."

"Raja Haji was buried within the Fort of Malacca behind the Company's garden. Eventually his remains were removed by his son and were taken to Riau, where they were buried on the hill of Pulau Peningat—that is to say, the hill at the south of the island. I have been told by old people that before Raja Haji was buried, his body was placed in a coffin ready to be transported to Batavia, and a ship had been got ready for the purpose. The very night before she was to start a jet of light like fire was seen to issue from the coffin, and while all the people of Malacca were in confusion at seeing this occurrence, the ship which was to have conveyed the body took fire and blew up with all her crew, not one soul being saved.\* On this account, said the relaters of this story, the removal of the body of Raja Haji to a foreign country was not accomplished. He was buried in Malacca and his remains rested there until they were removed to Riau. But it was because of this story that the Dutch of that generation gave him the name of Raja Api, † by which they used to speak of him."

I have, I think, reached, perhaps exceeded, the reasonable limits of a paper in this Journal, and will not, therefore, follow the Malay chronicler further, though he has much more that is interesting to say about the blockade of Kwala Selangor by Admiral Van Braam; the flight of Sultan Ibrahim to Pahang; the occupation of the fort by the Dutch; the brief and nominal tenure of power of the Siak adventurer, Raja Mohamed Ali, and his son, Saiyid Ali, in Selangor; the recovery of his fort by Sultan Ibrahim, aided by reinforcements from Pahang; the expulsion of the small Dutch garrison, and the eventual conclusion of a treaty of peace.

These events, though they had their origin in the quarrel between Raja Haji and the Dutch, belong to the history of Selangor, and the episode which is described in the Malayan ballad preserved by Logan is purely a Malacca one, and appropriately ends with the death of the Bugis Chief.

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\* *Api*, fire.

† The Malay poem, which is the subject of this paper, is evidently, as already pointed out, the work of a Malacca Malay, hostile to the Riau invaders. Hence the entire omission by the poet of this superstitious explanation of the loss of the *Dolphijn*.

A word may be added as to the removal of the body of Raja Haji from Malacca to Riau, as to which the statement made (on p. 212 *supra*) is perhaps not quite correct. If, as the Malay chronicler says (*supra* p. 223), the remains of Raja Haji were transferred to Riau by his son, the bones which were removed in recent years must have been those of other persons. Interments, according to Malay usage, had perhaps occasionally been practised near the place, which had been rendered specially holy by the burial of one whom the people regarded as a Muhammadan hero. Exact particulars are wanting.

It would have been interesting, if possible, to supplement the records, both Dutch and Malay, of the war of 1784, by local traditions collected in Malacca. Stories of the Bugis invasion are, no doubt, preserved here and there by the Malay peasantry; and the lines of the stockades at Tanjong Palas and Teluk Katapang can, perhaps, be pointed out. But I have had no leisure for any such investigation; and additional facts, if any be forthcoming, must be left to be supplied by other hands.

I have only to add that if this imperfect attempt to record an important event in the history of Dutch domination in the Peninsula should be read by any of my learned and valued colleagues, the members of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, I trust that it may serve to assure them that that history is studied by Englishmen of to-day in a very different spirit from that which is evinced in Begbie's narrative.

The materials for a good account of Dutch rule in Malacca, the most ancient and famous city in these seas—now how sadly eclipsed by younger rivals—are gradually being supplied by the publication of selections from the Batavia records,\* and it may be hoped that before long a competent historian may be found to undertake it.

W. E. MAXWELL.

THE RESIDENCY, SELANGOR,

*January, 1891.*

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\* *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia, van J. A. Van der Chijs, Nijhoff, The Hague.*